

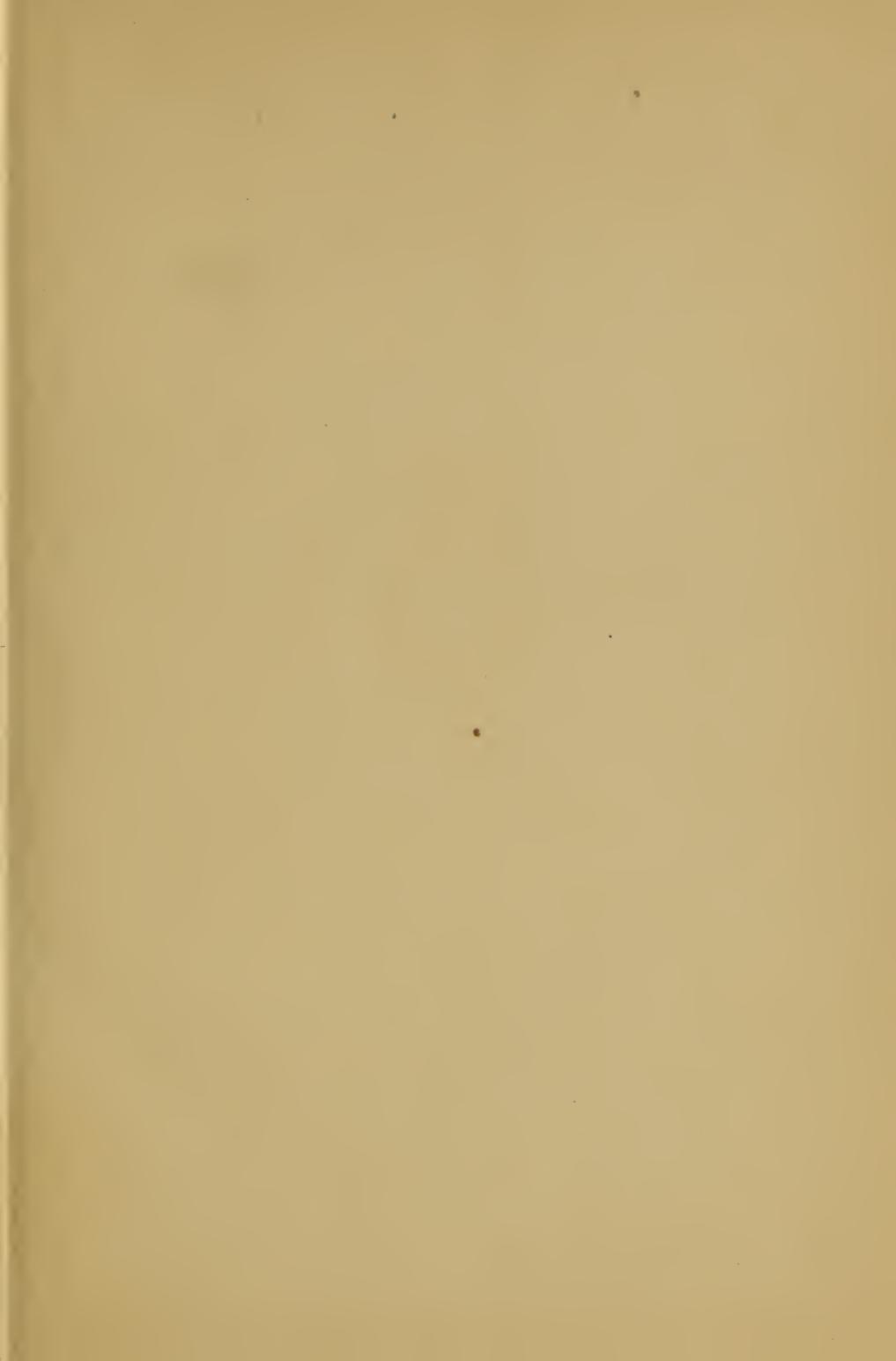


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THE PLANTING OF THE CHURCH

THE PLANTING OF THE CHURCH

A COMPENDIUM OF MISSIONARY HISTORY

IN TWO PARTS

PART I

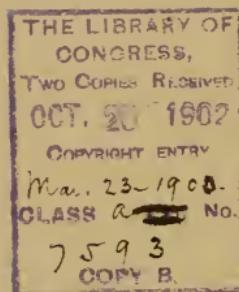
PRE-REFORMATION MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES

BY

LUCY CUSHING JARVIS

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THE WRITER'S INDEBTEDNESS

Conscious of many more imperfections than those which obtrude themselves, to dedicate this volume to any of the many to whom it should be dedicated would be presumption.

To acknowledge indebtedness is another matter, and in sending out its pages there must first be inscribed some of the names without whom it would probably not have been written.

My Grandfather's memory and his unfinished history have been a household possession since my earliest memory, and it was first of all from Bishop Williams, his great pupil, that the encouragement came which tempted me to follow even at such distance, in his footsteps.

For help in preparation I must also record my indebtedness to Miss Smiley and the S. H. S. H. S., whose helpfulness in the course I took will ever be an inspiration.

Next I must mention Dr. Maclear and his series of Missionary Histories, from which, as all will see, I

borrow largely both in quotation and general development of plan. The Doctor also most kindly went over the book in manuscript and made several helpful suggestions.

To Prof. Hart I owe a rare debt of personal labour and supervision. While to my classes in New York and those who made those classes possible by hospitality and ready interest I owe the practical setting of the chapters in the form in which they appear.

To crown all I am indebted to my Father and my Mother, whose home training and example have made me to linger with delight in the company of all those who form the vast army of labourers in the Vineyard of our Lord.

LUCY CUSHING JARVIS.

Advent, 1899.

PREFATORY NOTE

IN these days of ever increasing interest in the history and the work of the Church of Christ, it might well seem unnecessary to write in commendation of the purpose of a volume which traces the outline of the history of Christian Missions. Yet the special design of this work, the former portion of which is herewith presented to the reader, is such as to claim at least a word of explanation. The writer, whose lectures upon these and kindred subjects many have heard with interest and profit, supplements the work of others by providing in concise form a manual sufficient for elementary instruction in that part of the history of the Church which has to do with the progress of its Missions. Beginning with Apostolic times, she describes the successive stages in the conversion of the several nations or races of Europe, and the manner in which that part of the world became Christian. And from this wonderful narrative, illumined by the life and work of saints of earlier days, the history will pass on to the story, no less interesting

and hardly less wonderful, of that which has been accomplished by the heroes and martyrs of these later times. I may venture to believe that the purpose of the writer will have been accomplished if she inspires the reader with the desire and the resolution to share in this great work, the beginning and progress of which may be indeed described in part, but the issues of which shall be such as no tongue or pen of man can tell.

SAMUEL HART.

Advent, 1899.

THE PLANTING OF THE CHURCH

CHAPTER I

THE PLACE OF MISSIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORY

The key to history The key to all history is the progressive History of the Church. The story of Church progress is the History of Missions.

To appreciate this fully and before entering on a detailed account of Missionary History since the coming of Our Lord, it is necessary to do two things. First, to analyse the needs of human nature and society and the failure of the various attempts which have been made to solve their many problems both in modern and in olden times. Secondly, to sketch the continuity of Church History from its beginning on earth in the Garden of Paradise to our Lord's first Advent, so that its subsequent story from that moment to our own times and its office of preparation for Christ's Second Coming may be more clearly understood and appreciated. Both of these points are merely introductory and can therefore be treated but cursorily, they will, however, enable

us to weigh justly the value of Christian missions and what they have done and may do for mankind.

First introductory point. The problems of history From whatever side we view Humanity certain facts confront us which make its problems complicated. The fact of Sin, the fact of Death, the universal sway of both: the fact of Sorrow, the fact of Suffering, as part of the experience of every one without exception, difference being only in degree. These facts are ever present everywhere; but they do not exist without conflict. Goodness, Life, Joy, and Pleasure exist equally in their turn and at every point a battle is fought for the triumph of one or the other. Of all the struggles that between Sin and Goodness is the keenest. Sin reigns everywhere, but everywhere men and women and children appreciate Goodness and strive in greater or less degree to make it their own. Around this conflict between Good and Evil every event of history, personal, secular and religious may be grouped, and the wonder springs up in our hearts that after so many years of alternate failure and success human nature should continue the fight and not abandon itself to the sway of what is so hard to conquer; but the struggle still goes on.

**Unsuccess-
ful efforts
to solve** Nation after nation, generation after generation have sought to set at rest forever the perplexing questions of right and wrong; have sought to so express them that sin and the desire to sin should be ended forever. Wise men of

Egypt, Philosophers of Greece and Rome, Culturists of India and China have each in turn attempted this, but the answer to their callings or their systems of passive resistance has been like the silence which followed the cries of the priests of Baal on the mountain top in Israel long ago. There has been no answer and one after the other the callers and the dreamers have gone to their long home and Sin and Death live on. Yet in spite of failure to destroy there exists still a universal belief that there are superhuman powers able to control both. Gree-Gree men in Africa, Medicine Men among the Indians of America, Prayer Wheels in India and China are busy all day long to secure the intervention of these powers.

**The ques-
tions an-
swered by
the Bible**

From the long story of their failure, from the nauseous sight of the millions of pilgrims on the Ganges bank seeking to wash out the stains of sin in its waters, it is a relief to turn to one nation and to one book which in all the world alone attempts to give a consistent history of the cause of the struggle and to prophesy its final end. The Jew is the nation, the Bible is the book. It shows us Evil before the world began, it shows us the end of Evil when this world and time shall be no more. It explains Death; it grapples with Sin; it raises the Mystery of Suffering from the abyss of Divine displeasure where men are always seeking to place it, and exalts it also as a token of privilege and of grace. This book

The Planting of the Church

not only teaches us the true relation of these facts but it teaches us definitely about God, the "superhuman power able and willing to control Evil," and of its conquest by Christ Jesus. It goes further, and shows us how to conquer by means so simple that the very weakest and most ignorant can use them. But The Book does even more than this; it records the command of God to spread the knowledge of these means of Grace won for man by the Incarnation, Suffering and Death of the Son of God. And so we come to the beginning of Missionary History, and the story of this book. The Missionary solves Life's problems. The History of Missions shows to us that the solving of the problems does not lie in adjusting man's relationship to man, but by perfecting first man's relationship to God.

Second introductory point. The continuity of history This brings us to the second introductory point, the continuity of Church History and its relationship to all history.

In all study it is valuable, once in a while, to take wide glances; to look up and out from the investigation and contemplation of detail to glance for a moment at the contour of the whole. So in religious history, it is good once in a while to leave the study of its periods and look at the whole marvelous structure as it rises before us outlined in universal history. When we do this, we see besides the suburbs and hamlets as

it were of human thought, built by each generation or national type of mind, one long, consecutive line of buildings, in which human souls have worshipped the same God since the beginning of the history of mankind. If we look more closely we shall see that all these little suburbs and hamlets are strange copies of sections of the one great City of God: here a pinnacle, there a dome, or here again a foundation stone, or elsewhere vague portions of all, set up and exaggerated into complete buildings of man's faith.

Periods of Church history. In the great city we see first of all the Christian Church. Its corner stone is Christ, its foundation Apostles and Prophets; while upon these are being builded, generation after generation, the lively stones of nations and individuals preparing for the coming into it of The Great King. Behind the Christian Church we see the older Jewish Temple with its ritual of service and sacrifice; type and preparation in minutest detail of the Christian Church. And back of the Jewish Temple we find the arching blue of the canopy of the Most High God, the worship of the patriarchal ages from the time of Abel on.* These all set forth one and the same principle of human history; its keynote being not the

* There is also that Church in Paradise where the first "two" walked and talked with God in absolute freedom and unembarrassment of intercourse.

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relationship of man to man, but the relationship of man to God, in time and through eternity.* If we look closely at this consecutive and consistent story, we find, as in the natural sciences, that it is a strange tale of contraction and expansion. The worldwide Church of the Patriarchs embracing all the human race, contracts to the story of one family of that race: narrow in its Faith and narrowing in its limits, it is conspicuous for this great characteristic, its faithfulness to the clear and distinct expectation of the Messiah, and the truth of the unity of God.

That Messiah came. With His advent began for the Church a period of ever increasing expansion. Nation after nation is being

Beginning of Christ-ian Church history
added to the number of its children till one day all men shall, as in the early days of our race's infancy, call Him Blessed.

Turn now to the suburbs and hamlets of human faith. Ever since the days when "men began to call themselves by the name of the Lord" to distinguish them from those who "chose" (from the meaning of the word heresy—to choose) other sources of au-

* Dr. Edersheim in his volume on Exodus says of this: "Undoubtedly all mankind had at first some knowledge of the one true God, and a pure religion inherited from Paradise. This primeval religion seems to have been longest preserved in Egypt. * * * The more we study these ancient records of Egypt the more deeply we are impressed with the high and pure character of its primeval religion and character."

thority, we find the human mind inventing for itself heresy after heresy. The "heresies" of the Patriarchal and Jewish dispensations are the heathenism, of to-day. Through all of them,

Truth in heresy and heathenism
however, we find a thread torn from the Garment of the Whole which brightens its texture with genuine colour and gives to it the quality which makes it able to fascinate and hold the human fancy. In every heathen cult of which we have knowledge; in every philosophy, past or present, now known to us; and we may add in every Christian heresy; man can be challenged to find one truth, one conception of God or his creation, bearing the stamp of genuineness which is not found in each of the three great stages of religious development—Patriarchal, Jewish and Christian. The challenge may also be given to find one of these non-Christian beliefs which does not contain some thought in common with the "One Religion of mankind."

Church expansion
The faith, whose progress we have to deal with in the following pages, is the one which fills all time; it rings in that epitome of the Creeds, God's sentence of comfort to Eve in the Garden; and ever in clearer fulness, like the growing pealing of a bell, it sounds through Tabernacle and through Temple, till, in the glowing expectation of the Christian Church, it becomes like the sound of many waters, uttered by the voices of all nations in the Hymn before the Throne. Its progress is the story of

the gradual expansion of the Church of Christ, "Beginning with Jerusalem, through Samaria and all Judea," it passes to Greater Israel, "All the world."

Each nation, as it enters the portals of the **The Church and the nations** Church, sounds a note peculiarly its own. The

story of each conversion is a separate lesson to those who seek to Evangelize to-day. The missionaries of the past have left so deep an impression on all national life that we are convinced that the story of the conversion of the nations should be the text book of sociology. The change and transformation of national character under the influence of the "Hope of Israel" contains the secret of the change and transformation needed by men to-day. May the short and inadequate account contained in these pages help to set men more earnestly and more hopefully at the task imposed upon us by Christ. His final word and command was, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." His final testament was Himself; the strengthening gift of His presence to go before us to that work; "Lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world."

So much for theoretical history, let us now **Prepara-tion of Jewish and Christian Church.** turn to the history of events. Looking at the history of the world in the aspect of its being the story of man's relationship to God, we find two events upon which all the rest turns. The first is the Incarnation and the Coming of Christ in

Humility. The second, His coming again in Glory to be our Judge, and to exalt us to the same place whither He is now gone. At His first coming He descended and dwelt in our Tabernacle, so at His second coming this is to be reversed and we are to ascend and dwell with Him.

Secular and religious preparations for both Advents The preparation for our Lord's first coming was twofold, secular and religious. To the Jews was confided the religious preparation from the time of Abraham. The preservation of the knowledge of the one God, the expectation of the Messiah, the training of the Jewish people to a sense of their worldwide destiny, is traced step by step in the pages of the Old Testament.

Side by side, however, with this religious preparation went another and a secular preparation. This is also recorded, though only in the form of hints and suggestions of its progress, in the Scriptures of the Jews. Each of the six great Dynasties known to us in history before our Lord was born, besides working out its own national life, played its part in this "making ready the way" for the coming of the Lord.

The office of the Gentiles To quote Dr. Edersheim again, "The devout student of history cannot fail to recognize it as a wonderful arrangement of Providence, that the beginning and the close of Divine revelation to mankind were both connected with the highest intellectual culture of the world. When the

Apostles went forth into the Roman world they could avail themselves of the Greek language, then universally spoken, of Grecian culture and modes of thinking. And what Greece was to the world at the time of Christ, that and much more had Egypt been when the children of Israel became a Godchosen nation. Not that in either case the truth of God needed help from the wisdom of this world. On the contrary, in one sense it stood opposed to it. And yet while history pursued seemingly its independent course, and philosophy, science and the arts advanced apparently without any reference to Revelation; all were in the end made subservient to the furtherance of the Kingdom of God. And so it always is. God marvelously uses natural means for supernatural ends and maketh all things work together to His glory as well as for the good of His people."

Later he adds: "Somehow the salvation of Israel was always connected with the instrumentality of the Gentiles. It was so in the history of Joseph, and even before that, and it will continue so till at the last, when through their mercy Israel shall obtain mercy."

Duties of the several nations before the first Advent Egypt preserved the "Holy Seed" in its fancy. Babylon dispersed it in its pride to every quarter of the globe that in the humiliation of captivity the Jew might learn to know God more perfectly and bring the "Hope of Israel" back to the knowledge of the heathen world.

Persia built again the waste places and gave to the Jews once more a place of habitation and a name, a place where twice a year from their far off foreign homes the sons of Israel might come to unite around one altar and hear from the fountain head of the "expectation of the Jews."* *Greece* gave to the world the language of the New Testament and the Septuagint and the ships, which bore the pilgrims and later, the missionaries to and from Jerusalem. *Rome* created the roads which knit the peoples of the earth in one. It made Roman law and citizenship; it maintained that "truce of God" which tradition says held all the world in peace when Christ was born. While the Jews pre-eminently had charge of the religious preparation for our Saviour, without any one of these great nations, some part of the "making ready" for that December night at Bethlehem would have been wanting.

The preparation for the Second Coming, the **For the second Advent** Return of our Lord, is also manifold. Each nation, each form of religion, has its place and service. The book of the Revelation tells us this, Gog and Magog, the many Angels and the Seals, all are part of the great march of Time towards Eternity.

Let us then turn our eyes to the story of the preparations that have been made since our Lord was taken up

* Tradition says 3,000,000 of people used to gather at these feasts.

from Olivet so many years ago. He left a direct commission. A Kingdom was to be formed and into it every one who would hear His message was to be gathered against His return. No worldly power was to prevail to stop it. All events were to be turned to its strength.

Let us trace the story from its beginning.

THE BEGINNING OF THIS CHRISTIAN ERA

It is said that on that first far off Christmas day when Christ was born, universal peace was on the physical world of nations. Quiet stillness too was on the spiritual world. But the peace and the quiet and the stillness were the peace and the quiet and the stillness of exhaustion, not the peace which passeth understanding, not the quiet and the stillness of the "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest," or the "Learn of me for I am meek and lowly in heart and ye shall find rest unto your souls." It was rather the pause in the storm which was to wake with redoubled fury after the breathing space of calm. The nations had sunk exhausted into a peace tradition says was universal, only to spring up into bitterer hate and struggle.

Philosophy, and heathen religious rite and ceremony were both alike dead and powerless to touch the heart

of the worshipper or the thinker. Both roused themselves again to new life and energy. The age of the Antonines and Hypatia was still to come. Into the midst of this stagnant calm came a little Child to lead them and to bring them to the pure spring of living water flowing down the Mount of God. He came to the Jews only and the Jews rejecting Him, God "lifted Him up that He might draw all men unto Him."

A gradual forgetting and subtle perversion of the Memories of Paradise; one race alone recording accurately and this by dint of many revelations the promise of the Messiah and the History of Mankind; this one race degraded, captive, oppressed, scattered and despised, almost forgetting and wholly perverting in their idea the Messianic mission; this is the apparent summary of events preceding the first Coming of Our Lord. Our Lord came when truth was all but defeated and blotted out.

We turn now to the story of the reclaiming of the nations. Gradually Roman, Greek, Celt and Saxon are drawn within the magic radius of the Cross of Christ. In outline the following pages sketch this progress to the Reformation. The account brings out most marvelously the dignity and the power of the missionary's office. For the Roman, the Greek, the Celt, and the Teuton, the true statesmen have been their missionaries. No other set of men have done what they have

done from a merely worldly standpoint, while from the Heavenly, their reward is yet to come, for ever over and above the sweetness of the present reward given to those who work for God, is the glory of the triumph when the King returns.

CHAPTER II

THE OFFICE OF MISSIONS AND THE PLANTING OF THE APOSTLES

Christian civilization defined In looking over the nearly nineteen centuries of the Christian era, two great facts stand out like sign posts on the road from Yesterday to Now. First, that what we call civilization was not in existence before the influence of Christianity.* All forms and types of civilization in the ages before Christ worked from the top downwards. The civilization of to-day, ever since Our Blessed Saviour came among us as "one that serveth," works from the bottom up. The second fact is that until this latter part of the nineteenth century, the acceptance of Christianity by a people has preceded and been the motive power of its adopting Christian civilization. Only in these latter days have men deliberately attempted the experiment of giving our civilization to a people without its source, Christ.

Insepar-able from religion

* See M. Guizot's "History of European Civilization," Lect. II, where he contrasts the civilization of Europe with that of all prior civilizations.

**Conserva-
tion of
social
forces**

In this spread of Christianity we find great eras of Church extension alternating with eras of assimilation, this twofold form of progress being simultaneous with the advance and settlement of civilization. Each of these eras plays its own part in human progress. There is for instance the period of extension; new regions, new races are put in touch with the revivifying power of the Cross of Christ. Then comes the period of assimilation; at the old centers men readjust themselves to a new flush of life caused by the new ideas brought to the surface through the flowing back to them of the new life and ideas of the fresh races reached by the missionary, while at these outposts of civilization the overflow of Christian thought and living from the established centers refine and organize these undeveloped forms of Society bringing them into subjection to the new manhood in Christ Jesus. To exemplify this: During

**Examples
showing
this**

the Apostolic age Jewish, Greek, Roman, and Egyptian thought were penetrated by the same "new doctrine" of their own old truths. The pressure of their amalgamation into the unity of the Christian Faith brought about the period of the Ecumenical Councils when the various forms of heresy caused by differing national comprehension of Our Lord's nature were disposed of. Again the energy and vigour of barbaric individualism reached by the missionaries of the Middle Ages, trick-

ling through the hardening forms of medieval custom, ended in the splitting up and temporary devastation of the Reformation. It was not only the revival of Greek learning following on the fall of Constantinople, which brought about the age of Luther. This was indeed the flint, but the steel on which the spark was struck was the metal of the people; and that metal had been fusing into itself, through the great medium of missionary intercourse all through the centuries, new elements of race and national originality and independence. From the time of Boniface of Germany to the conversion of the last of the Slavic races on the shores of the Baltic, one barbaric tribe after another had come under the sway of the Cross of Christ and under its sway had given to, as well as received from, the "motif" forces of the world. Their intense individualism had a very deep effect on the character of central Europe, deeper so than is realized. The very name of a large part of Germany belonged once to a tribe Slavic not German by race. "Prussian" means a tribe of the Letto-Lithuanians absorbed by the conquering German. And the conquering German went everywhere with the converting Bishops. Church and State hand in hand. This fusion was further completed by the international life of the Crusades. It was this combined genius of the people, speaking through such men as Wicliff, John Huss, and Luther, joined to the scholastic element new fired by the re-

naissance, but finding more self-contained utterance in Erasmus and the Church of England, which caused the Reformation. It made the stream of public thought so mighty that it burst all bounds of habit and washed away the dust of custom and decay and made a new era possible for mankind.

Future results of present-day evangelization What the effect will be in our own times when the conservative Asiatic and the child-like African and island tribes come into line

with the march of progress, is certainly a question of deep interest. This is the more so because their coming is at an hour when conservatism and child-like simplicity are the elements most needed, not for a Reformation, but a Restoration, of much which in the indiscriminating zeal of "The Reformation" was lost

The work of the missionary and scattered. It is a striking fact that in Asia and in Africa it is again the missionary who is forming the connecting link and bringing

the inner life of the people to the gaze of the civilized world. Neither commerce nor travel has done what the missionary has done. Both commerce and travel are for a limited number, and a circumscribed set of ideas, whose key note is selfishness. The missionary on the other hand has it as his special object and responsibility to the hundreds who send him, to return to them a faithful and vivid picture of the life and men to whom he is sent, so strengthening their sympathy and love. He brings to the heathen the

choicest of Christian thought and ideal. He brings it from "the people" whose messenger he is, he brings it to "the people" to whom he is sent. Not to a class or to individuals, but to *all*.

We see, therefore, that the office of missions has been one and the same in the present as in the past. Welding together again in one the children of God who are scattered abroad, the missionary has opened up countries, preserved the literature and written the language of countless peoples. He has been the medium of intercourse between past and present, between Barbarian and civilization, in every age and quarter of the world.

Apostolic planting and success Let us now consider the special part and lesson of the Apostolic and ante-nicene years of missionary activity. This may be taken to

close with the Council of Nicea and the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire.

In the first place what was the test of numerical strength, numbers being the great criterion of our times as to success, at the close of this period when Christianity was legally established? Quoting from Bishop Lightfoot's admirable analysis of it, we may take it as 1-150 of the population of the then known world, and 1-20 of the Roman Empire. This last is rather less than the estimate of Gibbon who cannot certainly be accused of over-estimating the importance of

Christian influence. The present proportion is very different.* With a far better knowledge of the inhabitants of the corners of the earth this is now stated to be one-third of the 1,100,000,000 people on this globe. This change in proportion should be considered in connection with the necessary slow-

Causes of slowness of spread of Christianity ness of the propagation of Christianity. It means individual action on the part of every

soul in each generation. It is not a step taken except temporarily by parents for their children. Each man by himself and for himself passes into the army of Christ crucified. If this entails slowness of progress, it also entails thoroughness both in the admission of new races and in the building up of hereditary character in generation after generation. Each individuality is quickened by a new and distinct impression made in accordance with his own nature. This preserves originality and verity of type. Where this individual character has been ignored by wholesale baptisms and conversions without convictions, there has followed the infliction of heathenism and unchanged ideas on the Church. Pantheism, Ancestor worship, Egyptian notions of the inherent evil of matter and the greater virtue of celibacy all were brought into the Church in

*It is interesting to notice that Bp. Lightfoot writing in 1873 placed the proportion of Christians as one-fifth. Dean Farrar preaching before the S. P. G. in 1883 puts it at one-fourth. An estimate in 1896 since universally adopted gives it as one-third.

undigested masses to break out in similar errors within the Church under Christian names and titles.

Leaving the question of individualism and numbers, many lessons may be learned from the teaching of the Apostolic missionaries for the guidance of our own. The teaching is often new to the men of those days, while again it has an old familiar sound, as of things heard in the childhood of their race when man was young, fresh from the creative hand of God. It was new, in that it preached a new civilization based upon Unselfishness and Eternity instead of Self-interest and Temporality. It was old in that it appealed to the oldest and simplest truths of life and living. It was new also in its reversal of all received ideas and customs. Its

first change was the position of woman—

**Change in
regard to
woman's
position** “Woman, behold thy son: Son, behold thy mother” ushered in a new era. And yet this

new era was but a return to the old old days when Eve was made a helpmeet for Adam. The sentence of our Lord to S. John upon the Cross we find given a practical interpretation in the next glimpse which we have in the Acts, of the daily life of the Disciples. They waited in the “upper room with the women,” an utterly anti-Jewish custom. This is further expanded into the working of men and women side by side in the efforts of Church extension. Women as well as men workers, women as well as men martyrs for their common Saviour. The man was no longer

without the woman or the woman without the man in the Lord. The second change was the high ideal for

**Establish-
ment of
one ideal
conduct for
all classes** human attainment held up without class distinction. Not the breaking down of class but

the establishment of one standard of character-perfection in each and every class. One measure of perfectness for the slave and the emperor alike based on fidelity to the respective duties of their stations. Christ is preached the King of Glory and the Servant of His Brethren. Government is made responsible; Servitude is made faithful; Charity binds all.

The Apostolic method of carrying on work is also worthy of attention, namely, its reiteration. The center of their labours is the ellipse of the Mediterranean. Passing in the order of our Lord's command "beginning at Jerusalem, through Judea to Samaria the Apostles sally forth to go to all the world." But the territory most thoroughly gone over during one generation was bounded by the shores of the Mediterranean.

**Places as-
sociated
with the
Apostles** S. Paul travels into Spain, according to his intention expressed in his Epistle to the Romans and probably to Britain, (if we take the phrase S. Clement uses of him, "Farthest west" in the then acceptation of the term, which included that island). S. Mark is busy in Egypt founding his great catechetical school at Alexandria, where for the next three hundred years was the brightest spot

of Christian learning and instruction. Its great succession of teachers—Pantænus, Athenagoras, Clement and Origen—paved the way for the great Athanasius. Egypt in the early days of B. C. had given to the world the brightest heathen civilization, learning, language, literature, architecture, so now in the dawn of Christianity Northern Africa again comes to the front and until the “Sturm and Drang” of the Donatist schism, is the bright and not the “Dark Continent” of the world. S. James we associate with Jerusalem. S. Thaddeus with Babylonia as also S. Peter. S. Andrew belongs in legend to Russia and China. S. Thomas* to India. Traces of Christian teaching were found in Mexico and Peru by the first white settlers, but their source is unknown. These are some of the traces which we have of Apostolic footsteps scattering the seed broadcast in the land. The center is the Mediterranean; that ellipse, alike in shape to the ancient symbol of the Church forms the rallying point for missionary activity and Church teaching.† Here over and over

* There is a legend that S. Thomas came to China and America. See Schoolcraft's “Manners and Customs of the Indians,” p. 80; also Bancroft's History of America. See also Article “South America,” for account of ocean currents from Chinese coasts to Peru.

† We hear in Italy on Lake Orta of a certain S. Julius who came in 379 from Greece to convert the natives of the district. There on the little island of S. Giulio his body is still supposed to be preserved, and the memory of that earnest man of 1600 years ago still lives. What have some of the so called greatest men of

again travel S. Paul's never-wearying feet preaching, visiting and "confirming" the Churches he founded in and around this area. This "confirming of the Churches" brings out another characteristic of all missionary work prior to the Reformation: the following and refollowing on the steps of the missionary by the Bishop. The Apostolic succession of the Priesthood is not more unbroken than the line of laying on of hands on the laity of the Church.

Apostolic arguments with unbelievers To pass to other points. Lessons in lines of argument with the nations then converted would not be amiss for the study of modern missionaries. The line of argument followed by S. Peter and S. Stephen with the Jews as well as the other sermons to them recorded in the Acts, form a mine of wealth for Jewish controversy, while S. Paul's method with the Gentiles is equally striking. His seizing of the "Common ground," the fundamental truth-fact in their religion, on which to build the consequent Christian Doctrine is most suggestive.* A

the earth more than this simple faithful servant of God? The conversion of Italy belongs to the Apostolic period, therefore while in date this is later, it practically belongs to this chapter.

* See Pascal's maxim in his "Pensees" "Quand on veut reprendre avec utilité, et montrer à un autre qu'il se trompe, il faut observer par quel côté il envisage la chose, car elle est vraie ordinairement, de ce côté là, et lui avouer cette vérité, mais lui decouvrir le côté par où elle, est fausse. Il se contente de cela, car il voit qu'il ne se trompait pas, et qu'il manquait seulement à voir tous les côtés. Or, on ne se fâche pas de ne pas

striking contrast to the modern religious iconoclast who first destroys all preconceived notions and on their dreary void attempts to plant a "new" truth. Not so S. Paul, "Him whom ye already ignorantly worship Him declare we unto you." What a contrast to the modern account of a certain Mr. Jones, missionary to the Indians in North America, who went among them absolutely ignorant of their thoughts or customs and even of their language. He preached by an interpreter and by a sort of brute insistence won quite a number of converts, but his ignorance led him to transgress so many of their customs that his life was constantly in danger and Christianity much imperiled.

Mistakes
of the
period

There is however a warning from even this Apostolic age against mistakes men may make no matter how earnestly striving. The danger there is in the finding and building on the "Common ground" of going too far, and taking as that ground things not in themselves true. A most striking example is seen of this in the introduction of hermit life into the Church. Utter and entire consecration of self is of course the germ-truth it contains, but this expression of it was taken from the Egyptian worship of Isis and Osiris. There for hundreds of years hermits had sought in the cells about Egyptian tem-

tout voir. Mais on vient de ce que naturellement l'homme ne peut tout voir, et de ce que naturellement il ne se peut tromper dans le côté qu'il envisage; comme, le apprehensions des sens sont toujours vraies."

ples to express their fullest soul devotion by a life of "Solitariness;" and there in Egypt we see the hermit idea taken into the Church, Simon Stylites and his comrades "leaving the world" for a pillar begin a long line of religious "Solitarys" and "Hermits." Contrast with this the Prayer of Our Lord, "I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the Evil." The story of these Egyptian hermits set up by the Church in Egypt was brought by Athanasius to Gaul when he was banished to Treves and there took root in the form of Monasticism. This was a withdrawal from the world, but quickened by the companionship of community life. It began in the meeting of S. Martin of Tours with S. Athanasius. He heard the story of this form of self devotion in Egypt and his ardent magnetic nature was stirred to begin for himself and his companions the great monastic settlement of Marmoutiers. His wonderful personality gave it popularity and left Monasticism a system firmly established, destined to become one of the ruling influences of the middle ages. Thus it came about that what S. Paul advocated "by permission but not by commandment" as "good for the stress of the times" in those days of severe persecution became in the thought of the Church the highest expression of a "devoted," "religious" life. Good it did undoubtedly, as all absolute consecration

does, but it was a good strongly mixed with evil as later history showed.

The personnel of Apostolic mission-aries

The final lesson of these Apostolic ages is found in the study of the men who did the work. Who were they? One or two only of the Apostles themselves even, are known to us in certainty. A few names beyond and then we come to a vast army of the unknown. From the sacred narrative in the Acts and the Epistles we have the only hint to go by. Christianity seems to have spread more from man to man, from house to house. It spread like a contagion. Among the martyrs, men, women, and children,* are found of every station and degree of life. Not only the leaders are esteemed dangerous but every member also was regarded as a center of propagation. The names of those who passed along the northern shores of Africa, making the Egyptian and the Coptic Church, the record of those who wended their way along the southern shores of France and up the fertile valleys of the rivers to Lyons and Vienna, to Marseilles, to Tours and Paris, are all unknown to us. One or two only stand out as examples, the main body are lost in the obscurity of the past. It was such a common thing for a Christian to be a missionary that no one thought of remembering it.† The same is true as to

* Many are the records of childlife laid down in martyrdom as witness to the Holy Child.

† The American Church returned in theory to this Apostolic

the beginning of the British Church. We conjecture only and have only "probability" to lead us to guess who were some of the most prominent of its founders. And yet as early as 314 this British Church sends three of its Bishops to the Council of Arles. "Ye are to be witnesses of me," "To witness with us the Resurrection." Such seems to have been the primal keynote of Christianity. And the result? "The Church grew," "added to daily," establishing itself quietly and noiselessly, naturally as a seed grows, from man to man, from woman to woman, until when Constantine came to the Imperial purple, Christianity was a power to be used or reckoned with. "It was the strength of Christianity in Gaul and England which put this young Cæsar on the throne." Says Dr. Maclear, "The final struggle" between Christendom and classical paganism was in "reality fought out on Gallic soil. The strength of Christianity in the land which had been moistened with the blood of the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons made Constantine declare himself a Christian." It is Gaul and the West which gave the Church to the Roman Empire and not Rome which handed on the Church to the world. In Rome itself "the Church for the first three centuries was an exotic." It was

custom in its famous convention of 1835 when "Every baptized person in the Church" was declared to be "a member of the missionary society—The Church;" bounden in duty by baptism to be a missionary in gifts of self, of substance or of both.

Greek not Roman. Its very language was Greek, the names of all its early Bishops are Greek not Roman names, and its members were mostly among the settled Greek population. The old Roman families prided themselves on their constant paganism; their faithfulness to the "Lares and Penates" of their forefathers. But this is a digression, we must return to those early missionaries, the sheep of the flock scattered and scattering abroad.

Dean
Church's
summary
of results
of this
period

The full results of this first missionary epoch are so well summed up by Dean Church in his book the "Gifts of Civilization" in respect to the Greek and Roman races that it will not be amiss to quote at length. For the Greek, he says: "The Roman conquest of the world found the Greek race and the eastern nations which it had influenced in a low, and declining state—morally, socially, politically. * * * What saved Greek nationality, saved it in spite of the terrible alliance with external misfortunes of its own deep and inherent evils; saved it, I hope, for much better days than it ever yet has seen—was its Christianity. * * * Christianity was the first friend and benefactor of an illustrious race in the day of its decline and low estate: The Greek race has never forgotten that first benefit, and its unwavering loyalty has been the bond which has kept the race together and saved it.

“ I think this is remarkable. Here is a race full of flexibility and resource, with unusual power of accommodating itself to circumstance, and ready to do so when its interest prompted, not over-scrupulous, quick in discovering imposition and pitiless in laughing at pretence. A race made, as it would seem, to bend easily to great changes, and likely, we should have thought to lose its identity and be merged in a stronger and sterner political association. And to this race Christianity has imparted a corporate toughness and permanence which is among the most prominent facts of history. * * * That easygoing, pliable, childishly changeable Greek race at whom the Roman sneered has proved through the deepest misfortunes, one of the most inflexible nationalities that we know of; and the root of this permanence and power of resisting hostile influences has been in Christianity and the Christian Church.” The Dean goes on to show the force of the Christian ideas of “ The eternal and Everlasting,” the “ Christian idea of Brotherhood” and the “ Christian idea of Hope” on this same Greek race and the record in the light of recent events in Armenia is a remarkable one to say the least.

Take next the Roman race. The quotation is too long to give in words but the idea is this. That out of a nation whose might was built upon the foundation of *Laws* and of *Brute force* with no place recognized

for the affections, the imagination, or for the physically feeble has come the blossoming of the Italian character overflowing with imagination, with affection, with a civilization in which strength of arm and muscle has had less to do than with any national type on the earth to-day.

“Who touched in these Latin races the hidden vein of tenderness, the ‘fount of tears,’ the delicacies and courtesies of mutual kindness, the riches of art and the artist’s earnestness? Who did all this * * * in the spoiled and hardened children of an exhausted and ruined civilization? Can there be any question as to what produced this change?

“It was the conversion of these races to the faith of Christ. The Latin races learned it in the community of conviction and hope, in the community of suffering, between the high born and the slave—they learned it when they met together at the place of execution, in the blood-stained amphitheater, in the crowded prison house, made musical with the sweet solemnities of gratitude and praise, with the loving and high-hearted farewells of resignation and patience: They learned it in the catacombs, at the graves of the martyrs, in the Eucharistic feast, in the sign of the Redeemer’s Cross, in the kiss of peace: They learned it in that service of perpetual prayer in which early Latin devotion gradually found its expression and embodied

its faith. * * * They learned it in that new social interest, that reverence and compassion and care for the poor, which beginning in the elder scriptures in the intercessions of the Psalms for the poor and needy and in the Prophetic championship of their cause against pride and might, had become, since the Sermon on the Mount, the characteristic of Christ's religion. * * * Imagine a Roman of the old world making the sign of the Cross. * * * Making it as a Dante or Savonarola might do it!"

The faithful out of the fickle Greek, the kind out of the cruel Roman, these are two of the great changes wrought by Christianity. The civilization which brought the almshouse, the hospital, the public school, and best of all The Church with its spiritual instead of carnal worship, this is the civilization of Christianity. To this glimpse of Greek and Roman metamorphosis, we may add the change of Jewish character where Christ has won its life, making out of the exclusive Pharisee the inclusive S. Paul. This is perforce the effect on the Jew when he realizes the full meaning of the words of God to Abraham, "In thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," so that S. Paul prophesies that the final ingathering of the Gentile world is waiting for the Jewish Missionary.

Here however we come to a pause. With the proclamation of Christianity by Constantine and freedom

from persecution, over the center of the Roman empire falls the veil of rest, and the period of assimilation ensues when, in the great Councils of the Church, the doctrines and the definitions of the faith once delivered find time to crystalize themselves in words. To the Church Historian belongs this period, for the tension of thought during the fusion of Greek and Roman ideas blunted missionary effort and with the exception of the work of Ulphilas among the Goths, the work of Church extension was exchanged for the making of definitions of Church intension.

To follow the missionary we must now go to Ireland, with the Celtic Church seek the advance banners of Christendom, and live in thought for the next two hundred years, among the people and the customs of early Ireland and Britain, and wander through the shades of German forest life. The work of the first three centuries is done. The forces started, the lessons preached, the workers vanished. And while the Councils of the Church hold attention at the center we will turn our eyes to the outposts and see how they fare: See how new people take the truths that wrought such mighty changes in the old empire that left them outside of its political life.

TABLE of the "First Missionaries," and the Countries Associated with them by fact or tradition.

NAME	Place
S. Matthew.....	Egypt and Ethiopia
S. Mark.....	Lybia, Thebais, Founder of School at Alexandria
S. Luke	Greece and Egypt
S. John.....	India, Asia-Minor, Ephesus
S. Peter.....	Judea, Babylonia
S. Andrew.....	Scythia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Russia
S. James, Son of Zebedee.....	Judea, Spain
S. Philip.....	Scythia
S. Bartholomew.....	India, Armenia, Cilicia
S. Thomas.....	India (where he baptized the wise men !)
S. James, Son of Alpheus.....	First Bishop of Jerusalem
S. Thaddeus or Jude.....	{ Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia
S. Simon, the Canaanite.....	
S. Matthias.....	Judea
S. Paul.....	Italy, Greece, Macedonia, Spain, England
S. Philip, the Deacon	Samaria, Azotus to Cæsarea
S. Barnabas	Asia-Minor, Greece, Italy (first Bishop of Greece, Legendary)
" Other seventy also "....	Who, during our Lord's life, preached in every city and village whither he, himself, would come

PLACES Associated with Groups of Christians.

THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA	Churches at	Strangers scattered through	Brethren of	Disciples of	Jews of	Grecians in
Ephesus Smyrna Pergamos Thyatira Sardis Philadelphia Laodicea	Jerusalem Rome Corinth Colosse	Babylon Pontus Galatia Cappadocia Asia Bithynia	Ptolemais Puteoli	Tyre	Phenice Cyprus Antioch	Antioch

WOMEN Workers of Apostolic Days.

PLACE	NAME
Athens	Damaris
Cæsarea	Four Daughters of Philip, the Deacon
Cenchrea	Phœbe
Corinth.	Chloe and her Household
Corinth.	Priscilla
Ephesus	Apphia
Jerusalem.	Rhoda, "A Damsel "
Joppa.	Dorcas
Lystra and Derbe.	Lois } Mother and Grandmother of S. Timothy
Philippi	Eunice } Euodia and Syntyche
Rome.	Claudia (supposed to be a British Princess, daughter of Caractacus)
	Julia
	Mary
	The Mother of Rufus and S. Paul
	Nereus' Sister
	Persis
	Tryphena
	Tryphosa
Thessalonica.	"The Chief Women "
Thyatira	Lydia
Unknown.	"The Elect Lady," A friend of S. John

ADDITIONAL List of Men who "Laboured in the Lord."

PLACE	NAME
Athens	Dionysius the Areopagite
Antioch	{ Simeon Manaeen } Prophets and Teachers
Antioch	Lucius
Antioch	Men of Cyprus and Cyrene preach to Grecians at Those scattered by S. Stephen's persecution preach to Jews at
Cæsarea	Cornelius the Centurion and his kinsfolk and acquaintance
Cæsarea	Agabus
Colosse.....	Philemon
Colosse.....	Onesimus
Corinth.....	Aquila
	Justus
	Crispus
	Lucius
	Jason } Kinsmen of S. Paul
	Sopater
	Tertius
	Erastus, Chamberlain of the City
	Quartus, a Soldier
	Fortunatus
	Achaicus
	Epaphras
	Nympha and the "Church at His House"
Crete	Archippus
Damascus	Titus (Bishop)
Derbe and Lystra.	Ananias
Ephesus	Timothy (later Ephesus) "Chief of Asia"
	Apollos
	Tyrannus
	Trophimus
Galatia	Onesiphorus' Household
	Crescens
Jerusalem.....	{ Judas Barnabas } Sent from Jerusalem to Preach at Antioch
	Silas
Joppa.....	Simon the Tanner
Macedonia	Erastus
Nicopolis	Zenas the Lawyer
	Artemas
Paphos	Apollos
Philippi	Sergius Paulus, Proconsul
	Clement
	Epaphroditus
Rome	Epænetus
	Aristarchus
	Demas "Fell from Christ"
	Tychicus
	Stephanus' Household (Epænetus a member of it)
	Andronicus
	Junius } Kinsmen of S. Paul
	Herodion

ADDITIONAL List of Men who "Laboured in the Lord."

PLACE	Name
	Aristobulus' Household
	Narcissus' Household
	Urbane
	Stachys
	Apelles
	Rufus
	Asyncretus
	Phlegon
	Hermes
	Patroclus
	Hermas
	Philologus
	Nereus
	Olympas
	Sosthenes
	Silvanus
	Crispus
	Eupulus Pudens (supposed to be Pudens, son of a Roman Senator)
Thessalonica	Linus (supposed to be Llin, son of Caractacus, a Briton)
Troas.....	Jason
	Eutychus
	Gaius { "Mine Host" also mentioned with A. as
	Aristarchus { "My Companions in Travels" S. Paul
	Demetrius, Friend of S. John

CHAPTER III

THE CELTIC PERIOD

The Missionary may be said to deal with nations, the Church with individuals. This is strikingly exemplified as we turn our eyes upon the Celts and their conversion, as well as on their office of missionaries in the Church of Christ. S. Patrick, missionary to Ireland, changed the whole character of its History. The Celtic

missionary, in his turn, has changed the char-

Worldwide influence of the Celtic missionary acter of many nations. France, Germany, Switzerland, Pomerania, Scotland, Wales, as

well as Ireland are under debt to S. Patrick. After conversion their own national type was deepened, intensified, and drawn out of self to universal brotherliness by their effort to evangelize others.

It was five hundred years before Christ when history came in contact with the Celt. Then, for the first time, his fierce rugged

Entrance of the Celt into history features peered over the walls of Rome. He came and went like a dream in the night to Northern Italy, in those far off days. Two hundred years later the "dream" returns, and again and again it troubles

the sleep of the farming Roman, till finally about fifty years B. C., Augustus in sheer self defence organized their wild hordes into a colony in what was henceforth called Galatia. To these people nearly a century later S. Paul went as missionary and the Galatians became the first Celtic Church.*

At least, in the uncertainty of such far off history, this is one of the theories held by scholars. Certainly if we open S. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians and read

The Galatians the first Celtic Church it, having in mind the present Celts we know, the Irish, with their earnest fickleness, plausibility and superstition, their pagan faith in

times and seasons, it acquires a force and meaning not perceived before. It reads as a letter written to them to-day and is a marvelous commentary on the toughness and permanency of racial character. "Oh foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you that ye are so soon turned away from him that called you to the grace of Christ unto another Gospel." One can almost fancy S. Patrick turning in his grave to say it to the Irishman of to-day, should he hear him mumbling his prayers to S. Francis or the Virgin instead of to Our Saviour.

Irishman and Galatian compared The Celts that sturdy Saint found in Ireland were given to nature worship in its simplest but most superstitious form, and the Gauls of Asia seem, from S. Paul's Epistle, to

* See Dr. Maclear's "Celts."

have been very like their far off brethren. "When ye knew not God ye did service to them which by nature are no gods. But now after ye have known God or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage." Again "Ye observe days and months and times and years!" How like the Irish with their "lucky" and "unlucky" days. The old Irish dreaded the power of woman as that of a "witch" or "evil one." S. Paul refutes all this with his "Christ born of a woman." Then their eager devotion, how he memorizes this when he says, "I bear you record that if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes and have given them to me." This Epistle to the Celts with its account of S. Peter's frailty, the uselessness of works apart from faith, the intention of God in Christ to have us live to him as we were made, reads to-day with new force when taken in connection with the Celtic character and the corruptions of the Roman Church in Ireland. We can almost hear him say, "my little children," (the Celt is ever childlike) "of whom I travail in birth again until *Christ* be found in you." Not Mary, not Joseph, not this or that Saint, but Christ. Or again: "But if ye bite and devour one another!" Think of poor fighting troubled Ireland. "Take heed that ye be not consumed one of another."

**S. Paul
and S.
Patrick
compared**

Having caught a glimpse of the continuity and persistency of Celtic character, let us now turn to the story not of the conversion of the eastern but the western Celt. What S. Paul was to the west of his day, S. Patrick was to the west of four hundred years later. Yet the training of the two men was utterly dissimilar. S. Paul, to work among the educated races, was born and educated from earliest childhood in all the cultivation of his time. S. Patrick, born of Christian parents, living with them in a Christian home until his first childhood was past, was taken a slave to live the years of most intense impression on character, as a swineherd to an Irish chief. There on the hills, in the poverty and under the stars of Ireland, his soul received that training in solitude which was to make him the shepherd of many souls. As David was trained in the folds of Israel to be the leader of Judah, S. Patrick had his character disciplined by the care of the wild pig of Ireland. Energy, promptitude, patience and invention were well trained and developed. But that was not all. In his absence from home and kindred he learned to know his Saviour. The discipline of life made him Christ's disciple. He was the slave of Milchu—he became the freedman of Christ. It is one of the romances of all time, this life of S. Patrick.

**Life of S.
Patrick**

After some years he escaped from slavery and returned to his home. Here like S. Paul the men whom he was called to convert haunted him in his dreams. The men of Hi-

bernia came and presented to him in his sleeping visions, letters called the "voice of Ireland" crying to him to come and teach them. But the teacher must first be taught, and the young man wise in heart but ignorant in head traveled over seas to Tours to the famous monastery of Marmoutiers to learn all that the Gallican Church of France could teach him. One likes to fancy that it may have been S. Ninian who came from Tours to Scotland and founded Withern, (Candida Casa,) during the days of S. Patrick's slavery in Ireland, who inspired the youth on his return from captivity to go to the head waters of his own wisdom, before embarking on the arduous task of missionary to

the "Emerald Isle." However this may be,

**Tours in
the days of
S. Patrick** let us try to realize what were the men and events which impressed him as he went, in

those early days, to France. S. Martin with all his vivid personality was still a memory. Men could yet recall stories of their grandfathers who had talked with Athanasius, banished for the faith of the Blessed Trinity to Treves. Here we get the secret of S. Patrick's reiteration of this theme in the works which have come down to us.* The other heresies had not arisen, or were then unknown in Gaul, when S. Patrick was there; for no trace of them is visible in the Irish writings of those days. The isolation of Ireland from the troubrous thoughts which brought about the other great

* See prayer of S. Patrick at close of chapter.

councils is like the isolation of Russia in more modern times from the throes of the Reformation. Both countries were outside the strife of tongues.

Gallican customs in Celtic Church

At Tours S. Patrick also received those impressions of Christianity which later became characteristic of the Celtic Church. The great army of Bishops, the time of celebrating Easter, the shape of the tonsure, Celtic parochial clergy life with homes and families, these learned in Gaul, followed the Celtic Church wherever it was planted. The Protestantism of Switzerland, of Southern France, of Germany, of England, are all traceable to the influence of the strong feeling of "Gallican liberty" which characterized this part of the Church. The conflict of S. Augustine with the Celtic Church is but in anticipation of the reformation. It is the Gallican element of English Christianity that is at the bottom of the independence of the English Church. One result of the vast number of Bishops consecrated in Ireland was the sallying forth of many of them to foreign shores to conquer Dioceses in heathen lands. This is still the characteristic of the English Church. Her Bishops are her pioneer missionaries.

S. Patrick not a Roman

From Gaul then, not Rome, came S. Patrick to Ireland. He never went to Rome. He was made Deacon, Priest, and Bishop in Gaul. He never received the Pallium, a gift not then invented, and in all his writings as in all other writings

of that day, there is not one word of Mariolatry in any form whatsoever or worship of Saints: Only "Christ and the power of the Blessed Trinity."

S. Patrick
as mis-
sionary

It was after several years of training, no longer young, that S. Patrick with several followers set out on his long-planned enter-

prise. His first object was the conversion of Milchu, his old master. With him, as propitiatory introduction, he bore his ransom money to pay first his debt of freedom won by flight so long ago. But his old master was too proud to be taught by his former slave (whether he was too proud to take the money is not told us, but we must remember he was an Irish landlord) and S. Patrick had that share of failure which mingles with all success. One after one the other Irish chieftains were converted. One by one the great Irish monasteries were founded—centers of learning and civilization.

Place and
work of
Celtic
women

The Celtic women also were aroused. S. Bridget, a converted slave, built several houses to help the work of the men and began for Christianity that characteristic of Celtic religion under the Druids, the co-partnership of men and women for the religious work of the world. S. Patrick in Ireland, S. Boniface in Germany, can tell with S. Paul of the women who laboured with me in the Gospel.

One of the great causes of S. Patrick's success was his knowledge of the Irish language, learned in his long tedious years of pigherding on the hills of Dalaradia. Though Milchu was not converted, Dilchu, a near neighbour of his, and of high birth, was, and from the country about Sliabhmis* the faith began to spread. Only one of the stories of the many successes of the Saint can be related here; that of the Druid King Laoghaire at Tara.

**S. Patrick
at Tara**

“The legend is that it was Easter Eve when S. Patrick reached the neighbourhood of Tara. He erected a tent and made preparations for spending the night with his companions. As the smoke of the fire he had kindled arose it was noticed by the Druids in the King's Court and caused the utmost consternation. To kindle any fire during the solemn assembly of the chiefs, before the King had lighted the sacred fire in the halls of Tara, was a sin of the greatest enormity. Messengers were accordingly sent to summon the daring stranger before the King. S. Patrick's courage won for him the respect of Laoghaire and his nobles, so that not only did he proclaim his message before the King but received permission to carry out the great work on which he had set his heart, so long as he did not disturb the peace of the land.”

* Modern *Slemish*.

**Destruc-
tion of
Druid
monument**

'A great number of the chieftains were converted and everywhere the people received him gladly. His most important work perhaps was the destruction of Crom-cruach, "The-black-stooping-stone," the idol of King Laoghaire. This seems to have been a sort of Stonehenge for it was surrounded by twelve other stones and much reverenced by the people. The story of its overthrow sheds light on the destruction of Stonehenge. It was an act necessary to destroy its pagan power on the people.

It is interesting to notice in the early stories of S. Patrick's missionary work that the first move was a question on the part of the unbeliever. He was made to take the initiative and then, instantly, S. Patrick's answer implied in some way the Gospel story or hinted, if the question was purely secular, at greater spiritual possibilities. Invitations to talk were turned at once to high channels. When the two daughters of King Laoghaire came to ask the strangers if they were fairies, S. Patrick replied: "It were better for you to confess to our true God than to inquire concerning our race." This question of the daughters of the king shows a keen sense of the reality of the spiritual world. This was so intense in the Celtic character that the Celtic contribution to Christianity might almost be said to be spirituality. S. Patrick, S. Columba, Bede, Thomas à

Kempis, George Herbert, make a chain of spirituality essentially Celtic in nature and in grace. But with this grace comes a danger. Spirituality and spiritualism are near of kin.

Warning of the period We have a warning as well as a lesson to learn from this period. S. Patrick seeing

the superstition of the people, and thinking to "catch them with guile," made the mistake of giving them Christian amulets and charms instead of doing without such things altogether, thus raising their faith to a higher plane. One of these we still have. It is very beautiful and must be quoted but it undoubtedly strengthened the hold superstition had on the people and paved the way for the present degraded form of Christianity prevalent in Ireland.* There is danger of letting spirituality degenerate into superstitious spiritualism.

With S. Patrick begins the list of missionaries to and from the Celts. The following list of workers with their fields is only a small portion of the active workers sent out by the little Island of Ireland.

*Any one with Irish servants has only to ask to see their books of devotion to prove this.

LIST of Missionaries of Irish Origin.

1. Cadok, baptized by the Irish Monk Menthii; taught by the Irish Monk Tathai; studied in the Irish school at Lismore. Went to *South Wales*. Large settlement of Irish scholars led by him to *Llancarvon*, where they have a learned school and monastery. After Saxon invasion retreats to *Amorica*. Returns and is martyred at Weedon, N. Hampton. d. A. D. 601.
2. S. David, baptized by an Irish Bishop; studied at *Candida Casa*. Went to *S. Davids*. "The Bishops and Clerks" Rocks named by the sailors in his memory.
3. S. Cain, Irishman. Went to *Cornwall*.
4. S. Piran, consecrated by S. Patrick. Went to *Cornwall*.
5. S. Petroc, consecrated by S. Patrick. Went to *Padstow*.
6. S. Bridget, Irish Saint. Went to many places in Wales, b. A. D. 521.
7. S. Columba, *Prince of Ireland* and at *Gartan*; baptized by *Cruithnechan*, known as "Colum-Cill," "Colum of the Churches" from his constant churchgoing as a child; priested by *Etchen*, Irish Bishop; Disciple of *Finnian* at *Clouard*. Went to *Derry*, *Raphoe*, *Durrow*, *Kells*, *Lambay*, *Duncliff*, *Moone*, *Tory Island*, *Icolmkill*, *Inverness*, *Skye* and *North Scotland*, *Mull*, etc. "The Polynesia of the 6th century." *Buchan* and *Aberthenay*. Died June 9, 597, at *Hy*.
8. Corngall, Irishman. Went to *Bangor*.
9. Cainnoch, Irishman. Went to *Achaboe*.
10. Colman, Irishman. Went to *Dalriada*. d. A. D. Jan. 13, 603.
11. Kentigern, consecrated by Irish Bishop. Went to *Glasgow*, *Wales*, *Carlisle*, *Llanelwy*, *Dumfrieshire*, *Albania*.
12. Rederech, baptized in Ireland. Went to *S. Asaphs*. King and Missionary.
13. Cormac (of the sea), Irish Prince. Went to *Cumbria*, *Orkney Islands*, *Iceland*.

14. S. Donnar, Irishman, and fifty companions. Martyred on the *Hebrides*. b. A. D. Jan. 3, 642.
15. Maelrubha, Irishman. D. 21 April, 722. Went to *Apple-cross*.
16. Diumia, Irishman. Went to *Middle Anglea, Mercia*. b. A. D. 653; d. 706.
17. Adamnan, Prince in Ireland. He became the first preacher of the Roman usage for Easter and the Tonsure in Ireland and pleaded for the conformity of the Celtic Church to continental usage *but without avail*. 250 years after S. Patrick. 9th Abbot of Iona. North Umbria. Biographer of Columba, also Historian of the Eastern Church from reports of a French Bishop visiting in North Umbria. Here he met Ceolfrid of the Roman Mission to the Saxons. Great effort for union of Celtic and English Churches.
18. Forsay and four companions from Ireland. Went to Duninch, England.*

* The strength of the Celtic Church in Ireland, Scotland and Wales may be gathered from a glance at the following table compiled from statements in Maclear's Celts.

SITES of Churches and Monasteries perpetuated in nomenclature.

CHURCHES.		MONASTERIES.	
Wales,	97	Ireland	1,400
Cornwall,	13	Scotland	" many "
Shropshire,	7	Wales	" several "
Hereford,	4	Hebrides	3
Gloucester,	4	Orkneys	2
Scotland unknown	number	Shetlands	2
Ireland	"	Faroes	" several "
		Iceland	"
	125		

This is the testimony of nomenclature alone.

*LIST of Missionaries to the Continent of Celtic or Anglo
Celtic Origin.*

1 S. Columbanus	715-754	France (South)	1 France (S)
2 S. Gall.....		Switzerland	2 Switzerland
3 S. Boniface	8 century	{ Thuringia	3
		{ Friesland	4 Germany
		{ Hessians	5
4 Firmin.....	8 cen	{ Alsatia	6
5 Lebuin.....	8 cen	{ Bavaria	7
6 S. Vigilius.....	8 cen	{ Switzerland	8 Switzerland
7 Grimkild Guthebald.....	11 cen	Saxons	9
John of Mechlenburg	990.....	{ Corinthia	10 Germany
		{ Bavaria	11
		Norway	
		Norway	12 Norway
		Irishman	13 Wends

These missionaries and their fields of labour were the actors and the scenes of the Second Conversion of Europe, after the invasions of the Teutons had overwhelmed Apostolic Christianity and the civilization of the Roman Empire. It will be noticed that these Celtic sources of present day Christianity of Europe are the places where Protestantism has been most readily accepted during and since the Reformation.

It is a fact of human nature that often-times strangers influence us where our own family fail. This is true also in the history of missions. The foreign mission or the foreign missionary has an attraction which the member of our own household fails to excite. This was the case with England at this time. The Saxons of England

offered bitter resistance to the missionaries from their neighbour, the Celtic Church, which was firmly planted among the Picts and Scots in the North. S. Columbanus and S. Gall set out for Switzerland from this very Celtic Church and had great success there. Just at that moment S. Augustine, a foreign missionary from Rome, landed in Kent, to convert the Teutons who since 449 had been planting themselves all over the South of England. He at first reaped like success there. Perhaps the Celts had been despised and their teaching refused because these Saxons regarded them with contempt as being of the same race that, in France, had been conquered by their fierce Teutonic cousins.

Almost at the very moment that S. Augustine landed, S. Columba was dying in far away Iona—dying in the midst of a generation of Celtic missionaries and settled Churchmen, in a land Augustine supposed wholly given to idolatry. There is something wonderful in this coming of the one at the moment of the exit of the other. It is like the coming of Elisha in the mantle of Elijah. And the parallel is not unhappy. The sternness of the latter prophet is much like the nature of Augustine, and the conduct of Elisha to the mocking children is not impossible to the later Christian Saint, as seen by his conduct to the venerable deputation which met him from the Celtic Church. His haughtiness utterly cut off all chance of a union at that time, but it gave oppor-

tunity for the Roman Missionary gourd to spring up, and flourish, and fade, till rescued from total destruction by the Celtic missionaries coming from the north. In every station where at first they had such wonderful success, the Roman mission proved itself an "exotic" and except for a feeble flame in Kent might be called extinct until the strong fresh breath of Celtic Churchmanship blew upon the dying embers and then in the grand revival which followed, Celtic Church and Roman Mission were fused into the beginnings of the great Anglican Communion 688 A. D., and in this fusion, helping it on, we find the influence of the old Gallican source on the continent. Alcuin and S. Anselm are bright stars in this young Anglican Church. But this belongs to the Church History student.

**Columba
and Holy
Isle** Let us turn our eyes to the life of the missionary of those days. It is a pleasant picture. History repeats itself and in the picture of Columba with his followers we are

forcibly struck by the aptness of the term "Polynesia of the 6th and 7th cen." as applied to his "Iona." He was the Bishop Selwyn of his day with many of his gifts and characteristics. Nor is the prototype of the martyr Bishop Patteson wanting.

S. Donnar S. Donnar is there with fifty companions. They travel to a distant Island in the Hebrides. The heathen queen comes to slay them while they

are at service. They ask her to wait while they finish the Holy Communion. She assents, and when the holy rite is over they literally are made "partakers of His death," for she slays all of them. There, in one grave their headless bodies lie waiting for the day when their spiritual Head shall come again to call them. But the martyr is ever the greatest missionary, and many places in that land are named for the Holy Donnar. Slain in weakness their memory rises in power to generation after generation of Christian souls.

In the Greek and Roman progress of Christianity success began among the lower classes. The Celtic missionary on the contrary began more often with the king and princes, and through them converted the people. Yet "the two great founders of the Irish Church were slaves, Bridget and Patrick." The strength of the Celtic Church was its power of sympathy with and adaptation to the people. Here lies the secret of its success everywhere, even in England where it met and rectified what came near being the failure of Augustine.

This belongs to the story of the conversion of the Teutons. To them now we transfer our interest and among the Anglo-Saxons of England, and across the channel in Europe, let us follow the course of the Star of Bethlehem as in turn it rests over each nation till Christ is born in their hearts by Faith.

CHRISTIAN BREASTPLATE TO PROTECT
FROM FOES

BY S. PATRICK

1. I bind to myself to-day

The strong power of an Invocation of the Trinity.

The faith of the Trinity in Unity.

The creator of the elements.

2. I bind to myself to-day

The power of the Incarnation of Christ with His Baptism.

The power of the Crucifixion with that of His Burial.

The power of the coming to the sentence of judgment.

3. I bind to myself to-day

The power of the love of Seraphim

In the hope of Resurrection unto reward

In the prayers of the noble fathers

In the predictions of the Prophets

In the preaching of Apostles

In the faith of Confessors

In the purity of Holy Virgins

In the acts of righteous men.

4. I bind to myself to-day

The power of Heaven

The light of the sun

The whiteness of snow

The force of fire

The flashing of lightning

The velocity of wind

The depth of the sea

The stability of the earth

The hardness of rocks.

5. I bind to myself to-day

The Power of God to guide me
The Might of God to uphold me
The Wisdom of God to teach me
The Eye of God to watch over me
The Word of God to give me speech
The Hand of God to protect me
The Way of God to prevent me
The Shield of God to shelter me
The Host of God to defend me
Against the snares of demons
Against the temptations of vices
Against the lusts of nature
Against every man who meditates injury to me
Whether far or near
With few or many.

6. I have set around me all these powers

Against every hostile savage power
Directed against my body and my soul
Against the incantations of false prophets.
Against the black laws of heathenism
Against the false laws of heresy
Against the deceits of idolatry
Against the spells of women, and smiths and druids
Against all knowledge which blinds the soul of man.

7. Christ protect me to-day

Against burning, against prison
Against drowning, against wound
That I may receive abundant reward.

8. Christ with me, Christ before me

Christ behind me, Christ within me
Christ beneath me, Christ above me

Christ at my right, Christ at my left
Christ in the fort
Christ in the chariot seat
Christ in the poop.

9. Christ in the heart of every man who thinks of me
Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks to me
Christ in every eye who sees me
Christ in every ear that hears me.

10. I bind to myself to-day
This strong power of an invocation of the Trinity
The faith of Trinity in Unity
The Creator of the Elements.

One can see how this poem, beautiful as a prayer, is harmful when used as an amulet by an ignorant person. Still there is nothing "Romish" in it and we must never lose sight of the fact that S. Patrick and S. Bridget were good "Protestants" protesting against the very things now taught by the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER IV

CONVERSION OF THE TEUTONS

Part I.—Conversion of the Eastern Goth and Anglo-Saxon

CELTIC, GALLICAN AND ROMAN MISSIONARIES IN THE WEST—EASTERN MISSIONARIES IN THE EAST

Contrast between Celtic and Teutonic adoption of Christianity The Teutons take their Christianity hard. It is interesting to turn from the volatile enthusiastic Celt, comprehending at a glance as it were the beauty and the truth of Christianity, to the rather obstinate German eagerly pouring over the mountains from Asia into Europe and destroying all he finds. Their missionary history naturally divides itself into the story of the various sources from which it sprang.

Sources of Teutonic conversion First, there is the story of the Teuto-Roman adoption of Christianity in the Apostolic era by those Germans who, for many years in sections and in dribblets of tribal life, had wandered into the confines of the Roman world and settled there. Especially did they settle in Cappadocia and some of these may have been of the number of “every nation under heaven” who heard and saw the wonder-

ful events of the Day of Pentecost in Jerusalem. Germans of Cappadocia, strangers to their heathen countrymen, friends henceforth of Christ, may be intended in the opening words of S. Peter's Epistle; for all over Cappadocia they had their colonies and settlements in those days just as the Celts had in Galatia. Similarly we find them in Gaul and Burgundia. The history of the Pre-Nicene struggle of Christianity with these Teutons we have already learned.

Second, the conversion of the Eastern Teutons by the Eastern Church.

Third, the Celtic-Roman conversion of the Anglo-Saxon Teutons in England.

Fourth, the Roman element in the later conversion of the Teutons in Europe.

Fifth, the Anglican element mixed with Celtic in the same region.

We will take them as described. Coming now to the Eastern Teutons.

Teutonic heathenism The pre-Christian history of the Teutons is singularly interesting in whichever part of the great family we study it. Unlike that of the Celts, the literature of their heathen cult has been wonderfully preserved. The Nibelungenlied for the European Teutons, the Sagas of Icelandic Folk-lore, notably the Burnt Ngal, for the Northmen, and the traditions of heathen faith preserved in England, all combine to give us a clear and vivid pic-

ture of the whisperings of the truth, which were heard by the Teutonic peoples in those dim and distant days of their first advent into Europe. Only one or two points can here be noticed, but these seem to hold in them ideas which hark back to the days of Patriarchal

Traces of Patriarchal worship and revealed religion times, when knowledge of the one true God still lingered, the common property of mankind. Theirs is the one heathen race to whom

the opening words of the Lord's Prayer did not sound strangely. "Our Father" spoken to Jehovah was wonderful to the Jews. "Our Father" to the Teuton was sweetly familiar. "All fadir" had been their name for God for long ages. They believed in the immortality of the soul, though not the resurrection of the body. They had traditions of Lucifer or Loki as they called him, and of his fall from heaven to be the tormentor and destroyer of men. They believed also in Heaven and Hell with its rewards for the good and punishments for the bad. They also had a dim conception of a Saviour, Balder the good, killed by Loki but who would return and save mankind, bringing in a reign of peace and plenty. The worship was similar in rite, though not in deity worshipped, to the Jewish ritual. The outer court and the Holy of Holies had each its counterpart in Teutonic temples. They had their meat and their drink offerings and their sacred feasts. They had ceremonies similar to those of the Jew of consecrating by sprinkling with the sacrificial

blood, people and sacred vessels. But while they had all this they had much more. A whole army of Gods many and Lords many. Human virtues and vices deified and natural objects and forces made divine. They had human sacrifices and horrible and to us wicked ceremonies. So that while the missionary had much to build upon he had much to destroy.

Story of Ulphilas Soon after the Apostolic era, late in the third century, a family of Cappadocia was carried captive to Dacia. One of the members of this family was a lad named Ulphilas. The family would seem to have been an influential one for when hostages were required by Constantine for the good behaviour of the Goths in that part of the empire, Ulphilas was one of the number selected. Taken to Constantinople, he there learned the Greek language and also became a convert to Christianity. This last is supposition. One may also fancy that perhaps the family of Ulphilas coming from Cappadocia brought with them to their new home the knowledge of Christ. If so, this would be an additional reason why Ulphilas should be chosen to be sent as hostage to a city where for the first time in the history of the world no heathen temple had a place. It was the new capitol built by Constantine as a Christian city to turn the eyes of the world away from heathen Rome. The beautiful Church of the Sancta Sophia was its center and pride. Nowhere rose the fires of heathen

altars, but everywhere the bloodless sacrifice of the Christian altar celebrated the reconciliation of God with man. Whether a convert before or now, here at least his spiritual life was deepened and intensified. Here he saw a whole city worshipping the Saviour, here his heart was stirred by the resolve to make his people the people of his God and Christ. Shortly after this came

Why Ulphilas was an Arian the Arian Council of Antioch to which Ulphilas subscribed. From reading his confessions of faith it would seem that his mind was not astute enough to perceive the force of Greek intricacy of thought and expression. Greek was a new language to him. The differences of Homo—or Homoi—ousion were difficult to him. His whole heart was absorbed in the thought of converting his people to Christ. His early surroundings in a heathen country accustomed him besides to the idea of ranks and degrees in the persons of Divinity. Hence we may easily explain his adhesion to the definition most strongly presented to him. His subsequent isolation from the scene of controversy kept him apart from the return of the Church to the Catholic faith fifty years

later.* Ulphilas' first work on returning home was that of inventing an alphabet for his people. The Goths, unlike the Gauls, had no written language. The Druids, whose faith

Invention of the Gothic alphabet

* He died on his way to the second Council of Constantinople 381 where Arianism was finally rejected.

seems to have been more or less intellectual, early adopted the Greek character to express their native sounds. Not so the Goths. And here develops a characteristic of missions having for their source an Eastern and not a Western impulse. Everywhere that we can trace the first missionaries in the country to the Greek Church, there we find the Bible given to the people in their own tongue. Where, on the contrary, the source is Latin, there Latin is invariably the means of communication. The insistence of the Roman comes out in his wooden adherence to his own language till in time it comes to be an article of his faith.* Ulphilas, an Eastern missionary, invents for his people an alphabet, and to this Gothic character the Germans are to this day faithful in spite of its rude unsuitableness to the demands of an increasing multiplicity of books.

The first Gothic Bible Ulphilas gave his people the Bible in their own language wherein they were born. The “Codex Argentens” † is to-day the oldest written monument of the Gothic language. The copy we possess was made at the close of the fifth century, “seven centuries older than the Scandinavian Edda, five older than the German Nibenlungen, three older than the English form of Cædmon.” A curious

* Note the curious legend that God never intended anything but Greek or Latin or Hebrew to be used else Pilate would have written the sentence over the cross in more languages!

† This was the only Teutonic Bible till Wicliff’s time.—Dean Merivale.

circumstance is recorded of Ulphilas in connection with this translation. His great desire was to make his people a peaceful settled nation and it is said he omitted in his translation the book of the Kings as "affording too much encouragement to their warlike propensities." But Ulphilas the peacelover was not the only missionary. The constant conflict of Roman and Barbarian for

The empire as a missionary influence the control of the empire led now and again to the defeat of the Barbarian. Defeat had always meant not only acceptance of the empire politically, but the empire religiously, as well. This now meant the acceptance of Christianity. Martyrs among the heathen there were many, but the faith once accepted was clung to with equal tenacity; and when the time came for the Barbarian to conquer the Empire, hundreds were the martyrs who refused to worship the old ancestral deities and were slain by their own brethren. The custom seems to have been to march a figure of the Deity through the ranks and all who made no obeisance were hacked to death. The long tribulation however came at last to an end. The Huns appeared on the Gothic frontier and the Teutons in danger of their lives sought admission to Mercia where Ulphilas had settled peacefully and securely on "this side" of the Danube with his Christian Germans. The Emperor Valens consented to this immigration provided the newcomers embraced Christianity. To

this they agreed and at once a wild horde rushed across the river. In vain the Romans tried to keep count of the vast multitude. All direction of its movements was abandoned and the crowd was allowed in sheer helplessness to settle themselves. But they had no food. No crops were ready and in frantic despair the men pushed over the stated boundaries of Germany into Roman territory. Valens came in haste to quiet them. A great battle was fought in which thousands of the Romans were killed, and had the "Germans possessed any real leader the history of the East had been then and there materially altered." But Valens was killed, Theodosius came to the front, the Germans were ably pacified and placed as guardians of the Eastern Empire and Church along the Danube, and the

land had rest. Theodosius was an orthodox Christian and one of his first acts was the calling of the Orthodox council of Constantinople. Ulphilas was especially invited by the Emperor to be present, but a long life of hardship and exposure was about to end. Just as the 150 Bishops which composed it were assembling this great and holy man died. A great work was ended, a great era of missionary activity was over. Again in this portion succeeds the period of assimilation and settlement and again the missionary historian must turn his eyes to another part of the field.

Return of East to orthodoxy

**Severinus,
missionary
to Pan-
nonia**

This time the journey is not a long one. It is only north and a little west to Pannonia—a name which implies the mixed and restless population which lived there. The religion of Christ seems much disturbed by wars and tumults. The frenzied goings and comings, caused by the inroads of the Huns, seem to have much unsettled not only the population but the faith of the Goths of this part of the empire. The great missionary who changes it all was Severinus of Noricum, also an ambassador from the Eastern Church. He was a powerful preacher and a man of magnetic personality. So much so that on one occasion when the Germans were frightfully defeated and obliged to retreat, he went alone into the camp of the enemy and demanded successfully that the retreat should be unmolested. More than once by his personal persuasion he induced the advancing Heathen to desist. He was one of the great ramparts of civilization against the Barbarian. Mons. Ozanam draws a striking picture of the work of this great advance General of the Kingdom of Christ: “The Anchorite of Noricum watched, at the same time, over the interest of Christianity generally. Had the flood of the invasions rushed forward in a single tide, it would have submerged civilization altogether. The Empire lay exposed, but the nations could only enter one by one and the Christian priesthood flung itself into the breach, so as to restrain them until the appointed moment,

until, so to speak, they were called by name. Attila found S. Leo at the passage of the Mincio, as he also found S. Agnanus under the walls of Orleans and S. Lupus at the gates of Troyes. S. Germanus of Auxerre checked Esthnarick, King of the Allemanni, in the heart of Gaul just as here Severinus restrained their warriors on the road to Italy. Posterity is not enough aware how much it owes to these noble servants of God who had the glory far from common, not of advancing their age but of retarding it. In times so disastrous as these, ten years was the salvation of the world." One more picture of Severinus must be given. He lived as the people lived in a cave outside of Noricum, simply and hardily. He was not above them, he was of them, he won their hearts. They loved him. One day a band of recruits for the Roman Army came to him for his blessing. Among them was a tall powerful young Goth on whose form and fine earnest face Severinus looked long. "Go on," he said to him. "You are poor and clothed in skins to-day; the time will come when you shall enrich many." It was Odoacer. Long after, his kindness and mildness to the Christians may be traced to his impression of this meeting. It was like the first meeting of David and Samuel. Severinus was after all but an outpost of Christianity.* Long centuries passed and only little by little were the

* The Lithuanians and the Eastern Goths were also converted to Christ by the Eastern Church.

tenacious Germans torn from their national Gods. One, the Golden Dragon, seems to have been a most inveterate favourite and for many years the clergy were in despair at driving him out. Finally guile accomplished what persuasion and argument could not: The clergy made serpents likewise and put them in the churches, symbolic, they said, of Moses's brazen serpent! Then gradually the cult died out.

THE CONVERSION OF THE ANGLO-SAXON

**Four fold
source of
English
Christ-
ianity**

The conversion of the Angelic-Teutons, as we may call the Anglo-Saxons in playful memory of the story of Pope Gregory, differs from that of all the other branches of the race. Here we find no force exerted as later in the conversions by Charlemagne or the Norseman Vikings. The King and Queen might be Christian but their people were never forced to accept Christ on this account. From four sources we can trace the missionary impress on their tribes.

Roman First, that of Rome in the persons of S. Augustine and his companions in Kent. Second, that of the Celtic Church in the persons of S. Aiden, S. Chad and S. Cuthbert, not to mention many others. Third, Gaulish Bishops sent from France, not once, but many times. Fourth, the great harmonizer of the Anglo-Saxon Church, the Greek monk Theodore, consecrated by the Bishop of

Rome in place of the Irish Wighard* who had come to him seeking consecration for the Archbishopric of Canterbury, in order to restore to the Saxon mission the Roman element which had ended with Birinus. Let us sketch the flow from these four sources as they sparkle on the waves of the past.

In the Spring and Eastertide of 597, while the saintly Columba was preparing his companions in Iona for a life in which he no longer was to be their leader, there landed on another island in the southern part of

England, the Monk Augustine and his companions. There, five centuries before, Julius Cæsar had landed for his Roman conquest of Britain which began the linking of this "island of the sea" with the great brain-city of the world, the mistress of the nations, Rome. There too on the same shores of Kent one hundred and fifty years before, had landed the fierce Teutonic sea kings, Hengist and Horsa, beginning the Saxon conquest of the island. All these events blended together formed the future "England." There is therefore in Augustine's landing on the Kentish coast one of those strange beauties of appropriateness of time and place which constantly reveals to the student of history the planning of One Master, shaping the destinies of man according to a definite and consistent scheme. Here was interwoven

Where begun

* Wighard died in Rome before he could return.

that fourth strand in the ~~the~~ cord of English character which has made it what we know it. Roman law and order on Celtic* volatility, Saxon steadiness of purpose and tenaciousness of character, with Christian consecration to a high and religious sense of unselfishness and duty, all this met and mingled on the Kentish coast.

**Early
Gallican
influence**

One of the striking features in Teutonic life was their reverence for and devotion to their women. As the late Bishop Selwyn once beautifully expressed it, the Saxon was one of the few heathen nations where the purity of the home life was sacred, made by one man married to one woman. To guard their honour and that of their children, the women fought in battle by the side of the men. They were "helps meet for them" in the part of the garden of God's earth given them by God to care for. Among the Celts while we find women workers in the Church, their great missionaries are their men. S. Patrick, S. Columba, S. Killian, S. Burgo are samples of the names we meet. Among the Teutons however the feminine element comes in with frequency and power. Over and over again, in England, in Germany, or in Norway it is the marriage of a heathen King to a Christian Princess which begins the conversion of the nation. When Augustine landed in Britain he found already a Christian Queen, Bertha, daughter of Charibert of

* See Freeman's "Norman Conquest."

France, married to Ethelbert, King of Kent. She had brought with her according to agreement her Gallican Bishop Luidhard, and Augustine found them worshiping, in the little Church of St. Martin's, Canterbury, the same Saviour he came to preach. The warrior Monk of Tours preceded in spirit the scholar Monk from Rome.

**Early
Celtic
source**

Augustine had also another surprise. Before long he heard of the Celtic Church winning its enthusiastic way in Wales and Scotland, and to his duties as missionary "*sent*" to the heathen Saxon, he added for himself that ever Roman ambition the desire to be "*greatest*." This characteristic of unconverted Peter, who strengthened himself and not his brethren, was, in the person of Augustine, for a long time a hindrance to Church unity.

**Antago-
nized by
Augustine**

The conference to which representatives of the Welsh Church were sent that they might meet this newcomer, claiming exclusive jurisdiction, was characteristic of the times and people. The Welsh Prelates were instructed to "try the credentials of the Roman by the test of Christ's humility." Arriving tardy at the place of meeting, they were to notice if Augustine rose to welcome them in courteous humility. If he remained seated in haughty pride, they were to question the sincerity of his conduct. Augustine and his party reached the field of meeting first, and he was enthroned to wait in state

the untutored barbarians, who had somehow managed to hear of Christ before he proclaimed Him, and to have a Bishopric and Orders independently of Rome! Soon came the Celtic clergy and Augustine, remaining seated, received them as vassals. It was enough. The Welshmen resented the assumption and on their Celtic peculiarities of the Tonsure, and keeping of Easter, they insisted as if articles of faith. For nearly three-quarters of a century the Celtic Church and the Roman mission kept apart. It remained for a Northumbrian King, Oswy, to cast the decisive vote for the Roman

Greek influence in building English Church customs fifty years later, and another quarter of a century passed, before the Greek Monk Theodore, consecrated Bishop by Hadrian, finally welded the two into a national church. United* at that late date, they still anticipated by nearly one hundred and fifty years the secular union of the kingdoms under the King of Wessex. Roman missions were attempted in Northumbria by Paulinus, one of Augustine's companions, but after a temporary success they failed and were succeeded by the Celtic missionaries. Birinus last of the Roman missionaries similarly tried and failed in Wessex. Mellitus had done the same in Essex; Justus in the see of Rochester; while of Rufianus, the

Church union precedes civil union of England

* It would be a strange coincidence if church dismemberment should precede the civil break up of English rule.

fourth missionary sent by Pope Gregory, we know little. These five men represent the essence and the success of the Roman missionary force. It failed and all but perished. We now come to the Celtic.

Failure and success of the Roman mission in England On the collapse of the Roman Mission appeal was made to the Celtic Church. The characteristic of Celtic work had ever been the foundation of schools for training and educating the young. Caught by S. Patrick from the spirit of the Church in Gaul, he brought these institutions to Ireland. From there the idea was taken by S. Columba into Scotland, and many are the instances we have of the effect of these schools on the future of the Church. Noble youths were sent there for their education, and later when they came to power in their own right they turned for help to the instructors of their youth. Such is the story of Northumbria. Oswald, brought up in the Columbian Monasteries, turned to them to Christianize his people when his time came to reign.

Bishop Corman was sent in response to his appeal. He seems to have wanted one indispensable requisite of the missionary, tact, and he went back to Hy to report "failure." After recounting his trials to his brethren one of them said to him, "Methinks, Brother, thou hast been harsher than was fitting to untaught babes. Hast thou not forgotten the maxim of the Apostle about

Places of the school in Celtic evangelization

'milk for babes,' that by degrees they may be nourished with the Divine Word, and enabled to receive the more perfect and keep the higher precepts of God?" It was

The coming of Aiden Aiden who spoke. The others decided at once that here was the man fitted to win the men of Northumbria. He was consecrated

Bishop in A. D. 635 and went at once to his charge. He settled at Lindesfarne and began that second great center of religious teaching which made England famous. Columba, Aiden, Cuthbert, Bede, Alcuin, Selwyn, and Patteson are like-minded on the importance of Christian education in the mission field.

Progress of Celtic missions Four Celtic missionaries, Adda, Betti, Cedd, Northumbrians, with Diuma, an Irishman, may next be said to have laid the A. B.

C. and D. of Celtic missions in Mercia, (653 A. D.) Cedd went further and revived the Roman missions in Essex. It is difficult in so short a space to do more than mention the names of the Celtic enthusiasts who conquered England for Christ. Peada in Middle Anglia; Ceollach, Finan, and Trumhere at Litchfield; Ithama in Paulinus's old see of Rochester; Thomas and Colman, all have their work and their success. And then greatest of all, we meet SS. Chad and Cuthbert. Self-denying, traveling on foot from village to village, unwearying in private devotion, in prayers and journeyings, their story reads like a chapter on S. Paul in the book of Acts.

**The Galli-
can Church
the conse-
crator of
English
Bishops**

But we must turn to the Gallican element. We have already spoken of Luidhard in the train of Queen Bertha. It should also be noticed that Augustine himself had gone to Arles for orders, not to Rome. There came also to East Anglia a Bishop named Felix, (it is interesting to notice how nearly all the missionaries to the English are Bishops!) who after the Gallican fashion, established a school at Dunwich in *Suffolk*. Here he was joined and his work continued by Forsey and four others from Ireland. The work of the Gallican Church was not only in sending missionaries but in establishing the Roman usage in regard to Easter. It was the training of Wilfrid of Northumbria for three years at Lyons, which convinced him of the importance of universal conformity to the general rule. On his return Oswy the King called a conference to meet at Whitby, where Abbess Hilda had charge of the famous house of Canida Casa. Bishops of the Celtic Church pleaded for their time of celebrating Easter as coming from S. John. Wilfrid pleaded conformity to the general rule, and Oswy cast the vote for Wilfrid. The Celts retired discomfited but, twenty-five years later, Theodore, the Greek Monk of Tarsus, sent as Missionary Bishop to Canterbury by Hadrian, healed the breach. Henceforth (A. D. 681) through the preparation of the Gallicans, the Celtic Church and

**Second
Gallican
missionary
Felix**

**The com-
ing of
Theodore**

Roman mission were welded into the Church of England. Wilfrid may be said with Theodore to have completed the Saxon conversion, for his work among the South Folk was as successful as Archbishop Theodore's house to house pilgrimage in the North. When they died Saxon heathendom was practically dead.* Archbishop Theodore is one of the pictures of the day. Sixty-six years old when consecrated by Hadrian, he began his life when most men nowadays end it. He walked all over England learning to know his people personally and, with no "impedimenta," spent his strength for his Master.

There only remains to notice the ^{Feminine element in English conversion} nine element in Teutonic missionary life. Bertha in Kent, Ethelreda and Ermhilda in Northumbria, Eoba and Alchfled in Mercia, Wertbuga at Chester, and Hilda at Whitby, strike the keynote of woman's place and work. The first three were Christian Princesses married into a heathen Court, the last was a Christian Abbess over a mixed settlement of men and women. The Convents of those days were not Convents in our sense of the word at all. They were "settlements," model homes and places of learning, refinement, and industry, from which the ordinary home took its inspiration and example. Convents as we know them, there were none.

* The last heathen were baptized in 688 by Archb. Theodore.

The province of the missionary historian does not take us further. To the Church historian belongs the task or rather delight of watching the development of that great educational system which begun by S. Columba at Iona, S. Aiden at Lindisfarne, and S. Cuthbert at Durham, grew into the great schools of Malmsbury, Yarrow, and York, and so into the great school and university life of present day England. The missionaries planted the seeds and the Church has watered them until they have produced the blossoming fruit of English life and character.

TABLE of the Principal Sources of Teutonic Christianity in England and the East.

COUNTRY.	People.	Date.	Region.	Missionary.	Sources of Episcopate.	Circumstance.
Gothia...	Visigoths.....	325.	Uphilus together with influence of Eastern Empire and Brit. germ.	Theophilus.....	Gothian Bishop ..	At council of Nicea.
"	Lesser-Goths.....	311-370.....	Modessice.....			
"	Lithuanians.....	370 (circum)				
"	Western Goths.....	376 (circum)				
Danubia..	Visigoths	450 (circum) ..	Noricum.....	Severinus.....	Arabia or Egypt.	
"	Jutes.....	560 (circum) ..	Kent.....	1 <i>Luithart</i> , a Bishop.	Gaul.....	Bulwark against the Huns.
"	Jutes.....	597.....	Kent.....	2. S. Augustine	<i>Consecrated in Gaul</i>	Chaplain to Queen Bertha.
"	Jutes.....	626.....	Rochester.....	Justus { Companions of Paulinus		Sent by Pope Gregory of Rome but not consecrated by him.
"	Angles.....		Northumbria	Rufianus { Augustine		
"	East Saxons.....	604.....	Essex.....	Mellinus.		
"	Angles.....	630.....	Deira.....	Deacon James	Roman.....	Left by Paulinus in Deira with Kent and Wessex, the only Roman Mission that survived.
"	West Saxons.....	634.....	Wessex	Birinus	All the Roman missions failed and were destroyed by 634, except Kent, Wessex, and Deira.	
"	East Anglia.....	631.....	Norfolk and Suffolk	2 Felix of Burgundia..	Gaul.....	Brought by the King Sigbert from Burghy.
"	South Saxons	681.....	Sussex	3 Wilfrid	Gaul.....	From Lindisfarne.
"	Angles.....	634.....	Essex	Cedd.....	Scotland	
"	Angles.....	638.....	Northumbria	Aiden.....	Scotland	Iona.
"	Angles.....	653.....	Merica.....	Diuma.....	.....	An Irishman.
"	Angles.....	631.....	Suffolk	Forsey, a Monk.	.....	An Irishman.
		668.....		Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury	Rome	Greek monk. First Bishop in England consecrated at Rome.

Theodore, the Greek, consecrated in Rome, united the Celtic Church and Roman Mission (633-699). He
old when consecrated.

CHAPTER IV

CONVERSION OF THE TEUTONS

Part II.—Conversion of the Teutons in Europe

A. MISSIONARIES FROM ROME AND GAUL

Struggles of Christianity with Teutons We now come to the conversion of the Teutons of the North and middle East of Europe. This is effected by the hammering

of many generations of missionaries of all sorts and conditions, fierce and gentle, learned and ignorant, nobleman and peasant, on the rude but rugged doorways of their hearts. Soldier and Monk, Emperor and Bishop, women and men, are represented in this host. Whether in England or in Bavaria, Mercia, or the shores of the Baltic, the struggle of Christianity with the Teuton is a fierce one. The Saxons and the Teutons are not fickle by nature, not easily won to a new faith. The Roman missions creeping up from the South of England, the Celtic missionaries reaching down from the North, worked long and patiently before the Anglo-Saxon Church was fairly founded in England. So too on the continent. The struggle of Christianity with the pure blooded Teuton

was long and fierce. Quite a different story from that of the reception of Christianity in the Apostolic ages in Gaul.

**Features
of Teutonic
evangeliza-
tion**

With this part of the story new means, characteristic especially of Teutonic conversion, come before us. In* the Teuto-Celtic conversions of the Apostolic age under the Roman Empire we had the natural handing on of the Faith from one person to another. With the East Goths we had the Apostolic Ulphilas and Severinus, ambassadors from the Greek Church. With the West Goths, the Franks, comes in a new and frequently recurring medium of conversion; a heathen king marries a Christian princess and the Court becomes the scene of change from heathen deity to Christ.

**Marriages
of heathen
kings and
Christian
princesses**

It is the story of the little captive maid over again. The conversion for instance of the Marcomanni through their Queen Fritigil, converted by S. Ambrose of Milan.† As one reads the pages of Gregory of Tours and Hincmar of Rheims, the historians of the period, one is struck by the change and the distance

* In this connection should be recorded the part that the Christian soldiers played marching in the Legions of Rome.

† S. Ambrose indeed plays quite a part in the history of this period. Bishop of Milan, with again one of those wonderful instances of impressive personality, his is one of the great influences which led men of the West to rely on Latin Christianity. The warrior Bishop of Milan in an age of warriors is a most picturesque as well as impressive person.

which separates their stories of the spread of Christianity from those of Apostolic days. Conversion is no longer from force of conviction but largely force of circumstance. Royal persuasions cause policy to be mingled with the motives of the convert.

Influence of royalty to induce conversion Often it is a weary tale of wholesale, superstitious embracing of Christianity in the face of a barbarous enemy for the sake of victory; or forcible conversions at the command of the monarch, followed by woebegone relapses to heathen darkness or heretical error. The imitators of Constantine and his "Hoc signo vinces" are many: while the relapses into heathenism from an ill-understood Christianity, correspond to the fall of the Roman Christian into Arianism.

Too great speed the warning of the period Again and again has the missionary to learn that only "Festina lente" is the way of God. The slow growth of the mustard seed is the pledge that it will be the great tree and not the gourd of the prophet giving shelter only for the night. The warning of the period is against haste and other than motives of personal conviction on the part of the convert.

The conversion of Arbrögastes by the idea that Ambrose could control the movements of the sun and moon; the conversions of the Burgundians, the Marcomanni, and the Franks, on the eve of their re-

spective struggles with the Huns and Vandals, all are instances in point. The conversion of the Franks

may serve as an example. The Franks in that day inhabited Belgium and of their royal line came in the course of time one

Clovis and the conversion of the Franks
Clovis to the throne. He married for wife the Christian Clotilde, Princess of the Burgundians, a tribe already converted to Christianity and inhabiting the country of the river Soane. When their son was born Clovis consented to the entreaties of Clotilde and the boy was baptized. Soon after came a terrible inroad of the Huns and Clovis was called to battle with Attila at Chalons-sur-Marne. Sleepless the night before the battle, in the face of fearful odds, Clovis vowed that if the God his wife worshipped would rescue him he would be baptized. The victory of the following day fixed the wavering purpose of the King and on Christmas day 496, in Rheims by the great Bishop Remigius, Clovis was baptized. It was the prelude to the coronation of Charlemagne by the Bishop of Rome 300 years later. Three thousand warriors were christened with their leader. "As they rose from the waters one might have seen fourteen centuries of empire rising with them; the whole array of chivalry, the long series of the crusades, the deep philosophy of the schools, in one word all the heroism, all the learning, all the liberty of the later ages"** So writes Ozanam.

* Quoted in Dean Merivale's "Timeline."

One of the
causes of
crusades

nam. The irrepressible warlikeness of the German people, noticed in the story of Ulphilas and his omission to translate the book of Kings, may largely account for the warrior movements of Christianity in the middle ages, namely, the warrior missionaries, and the diversion by the Pope of this fighting energy to the Crusades. The Germans chafed long under the priestly rule thus established, but the savage liberty of the Teutons spoke at last in the Reformation. The lawlessness of the Reformation on the continent is but the fit sequel to the restless swaying back and forth from Churchmanship to infidelity all through this early story of the German Church.

Clovis having won the battle with the help of Christ, proceeded to fight others with a religious motive. Their story is a wicked and a bloody one, all the sadder because done in the name of Christ and under the cloak of converting the nations.

The
pioneer
mission-
aries

The great missionary names of the epoch are, Nicentius of Treves, head of a school of missionaries; Lupus of Sens, driven out by his clergy, preaching to the Goths of the Sheldt and Meuse; S. Aloysius (Eligias or Elois) of Tours (you may still see his name perpetuated there in names of streets and taverns "Du bon S. Elois") who, longing for a life of greater hardship than he

found at home, went to Gueldres and to Friesland. His work is more Apostolic than most of the rest and it is a pleasure to read its story.

The following is an extract from one of his sermons quoted in Dean Merivale's story of the conversion of the Continental Teutons:

*Sermon of
S. Aloysius*

“Worship not the heavens nor the stars nor the earth nor anything else but God; for He by His power alone has created and disposed all things. Doubtless the sky is lofty, the stars beautiful, the earth is vast, and the ocean boundless but He who made all these is greater and fairer than they. I declare then that ye must not follow the impious customs of the unbelieving pagans. Let no man take note of what day he leaves his house or what day he returns there for God has made every day. Nor must anyone scruple to begin work at the new moon; for God has made the moon to the end that it should mark the time and enlighten the darkness and not that it should interrupt men's business and disturb their minds. Let none believe himself subject to an appointed destiny, to a lot, or to a horoscope, according to the common saying, ‘Every man shall be that which his birth has made him;’ for God wills that all men should attain salvation and arrive at the knowledge of the truth. But on every Sunday present yourselves at the Church and when there take no thought of business, or of quarrels, or of trifling

conversation, and hearken in silence to the divine teaching. It sufficeth not my friends to have received the name of Christian if you do not the works of Christians. That man bears the name of Christian with profit to himself who keeps the precepts of Christ, who steals not, who bears not false witness, who lies not, who doth not commit adultery, who hateth no man, who returns not evil for evil. That man is a Christian indeed who puts no trust in phylacteries or other devilish superstitions but hopes in Christ only; who receives the wayfarer with gladness as though he were entertaining Christ himself, for it is said, 'I was a stranger and ye took me in.' That man I tell you is a Christian who washes the feet of his guests and treats them as dear kinsmen, who bestows alms on the poor according to his own means, who touches not the produce of his own farm till he has given a portion to the Lord, who knows not the deceitful scale or the false measure, who lives chastely and in the fear of God, who finally bearing in mind the Creed and the Lord's prayer takes care to teach them to his children and to his household."

Human nature is the same in all time. This sermon fourteen hundred years old reads as if written for a congregation of to-day.

Another great missionary of Western Gaul was S. Amandus of Aquitania. He may be said to be one of the first missionaries to the Teutons coming directly from the

S. Aman-
dus

Papal City. His call to be a missionary came on this wise. He was at S. Peter's in Rome when he saw in a vision a man from Gaul calling him to come to them. He went and attempted to convert the heathen about Tournay. Failing to persuade the people, he tried to force them through the royal commands of Dagobert and for a long time the story of the Gospel of peace is anything but peaceful. The people resented force by force and bitter struggles were the result. Still little by little the cross won and finally Amandus was revered by all the community. The warlike character of the conversions, however, affected greatly the character of the convert. The conquered warrior became the warrior Bishop. A use of the Papacy may be seen in this relation.

**Restraint-
ing power
of the
Papacy**

Although intent upon temporal power himself, the Pope was quite determined to allow no rival in the combination of spiritual and temporal forces, and the constant check exercised by the Pope on the great Prelates of Europe, prevented a ruling episcopacy all over the continent.*

B. MISSIONARIES FROM ENGLAND

So far it is all the older civilizations which have worked upon the Teuton. Eastern and Roman have been the sources of Christian life and thought. We

* See Dean Merivale.

now come to a new element. A new civilization untinged with colours from old life comes with fresh vigour to the charge in the persons of Celtic and Saxon missionaries, SS. Columbanus, Gall, and Boniface. The new wine in the new bottles. Oddly enough this new element is educational rather than evangelistic. Or rather the method of conversion is in the establishment of schools and settlements in addition to the time honored system of preaching.

"The school brought to Germany" The "foolishness of preaching" saved some, but the schools of Fulda, of S. Gall, and the two Corbeys, saved more, and the new

civilization began. The school for all who wish to learn; the model settlement, the ideal basis of which was labour, mingled with contemplation, takes the place of the civilization of Greece or Rome in which labour was servitude and education practically for the few. The peaceful Monk takes the place of the conquering soldier as pioneer in the transformation of life and manners which followed the missionary from England.

We saw that about the time S. Augustine landed in England to convert the Saxons a Celtic missionary crossed over to the continent from Ireland to convert the Teutons. This was S. C. ~~in 610~~. Together with S. Gall he traveled in middle and South Germany, and ~~and founded the~~ the monastic house of S. Gal. ~~and~~ a great center of learn-

S. Columbanus

S. Gall

Celtic customs planted

ing for the times.* It was also a great missionary center, and from it men went all over that part of Europe. Everywhere the Celtic missionary went, he established the custom of a married clergy, the Celtic fashion of keeping Easter, and independence of the Pope of Rome. Woman's part was not wanting in the propagation of this new and gentler civilization. The Irish missionaries went as far as Thuringia and into the country on the Danube. But they

Conversion of Thuringia

had been preceded by a Christian Princess Radegunde, who had married the pagan king of the country. Only slow progress was made however. An Irish Bishop, a priest, and a deacon named respectively Killian, Colman, and Totman, were a little later martyred there for the faith, because they stood out strongly for purity of life and morals at the Court where manners were most undesirable. Over and over again was sown the red seed of martyr's blood. That was in Thuringia.

Celtic influence

Bavaria Turn now to the Church in Bavaria. Repeated onslaughts by the forces of Christendom were made here. From the Court of Clotaire II., whose civil history we little connect with good deeds, came the two missionaries

* This monastery still exists and makes the famous Swiss embroideries. Travelers should remember that it was founded by Anglican churchmen, not Roman.

Gallican influence

Eustatius and Agilius and worked well and nobly. This was early in the 7th century. Fifty years later came Bishop Emmeran of Poitiers and at the close of it Rupert, Bishop of Worms, with the gracious nun Ehrentrude. From France Rupert had brought her with him to Salzburg to found what we in these days would call a "settlement," in those days a "monastery" of men and women. Ehrentrude was the Abbess over the women. All their endeavor was to live the Christ life in daily work, study and prayer, and so to win the people to both Christianity and civilization. Both Ehrentrude and Bishop Rupert died about the same time. Rupert first and Ehrentrude soon after from prostration at his loss. When he broke the truth to her that he could not live longer, her words were most pathetic: "My Lord and Father, you caused me to leave my home and country and now you leave me alone. Pray for me that I may soon follow you." The prayer was answered and side by side they sleep till the Master they served so singleheartedly comes to waken them.

Rupert and Ehrentrude

Again fifty years go by and again three men from Ireland come to Bavaria. The monk Vigilius, Bishop Dobla, and a hermit named Alto. They settle in the place of Rupert's labors Salzburg, also penetrating among the Carinthians. The monk is especially interesting. He seems to have been a very learned as well

as devout man and propounded the then preposterous theory that the world was round! Think of that! A missionary, and the middle of the eighth century, fore-stalling Columbus!

S. Boniface But the most successful of all these workers among the Bavarians was a combined product of the Celtic Church and the Roman Mission in England; Boniface or Wilfrid of Devonshire. Early in the eighth century he felt a strong call to preach the Gospel to the heathen on the continent. He was attracted especially by the Frisians among whom he was aided in his work by another English missionary, Willibrod, a Bishop. But they failed and Boniface for a time returned to England. Then he set forth again and bearing letters from the then Bishop of Winchester went to the Pope for special sanction and blessing. He traveled through Bavaria, Thuringia and Eastern France, settling finally for steadfast work in Thuringia and Saxony. Here he became Bishop, going to Rome for consecration.

Yet it is to England he seems to turn for real aid and instruction. Letters to him from Daniel, his Letters from Daniel, then Bishop of Winchester old Bishop of Winchester, are still extant and most interesting. "You must not," said

Daniel, "raise your voice against the genealogies of their false divinities. Rather let them declare to you how their gods were born one from another by carnal copulation; then you can readily

show that gods and goddesses of this human origin can be no other than human beings, and that as they have once begun to exist they cannot continue to exist forever. Thence proceed to ask them whether the world has had a commencement or whether it is eternal, and if it has had a commencement who has created it? Again ask them where did these deities, who have been born, reside before the creation of the world? If they say that the world was eternal who was it governed it before the birth of the gods? How did they bring the world into subjection to their laws seeing that the world had no need of them? Whence came the first born among themselves and by whom was he generated from whom all the rest are descended? And further ask them whether they think the gods ought to be honoured for the sake of temporal and present happiness or of the future and eternal? If they say for temporal happiness, then let them show in what way are pagans better off than Christians. You shall address them with these and such like objections, not by way of provocation and insult but with the greatest moderation and mildness. And from time to time you shall compare their superstitions with the Christian dogmas touching them lightly indeed so that the pagans may remain confounded rather than exasperated. That they may blush at the absurdity of their prejudices and not suppose we are ignorant of their false opinions and sinful practices. Further you shall

present to them the greatness of the Christian world compared with which they are themselves so insignificant. And to prevent their boasting the immemorial sovereignty of their idols take heed to teach them that idols were indeed adored through the whole world until the time when the world was reconciled to God by the grace of Jesus Christ."

It was also to England he turned for helpers and friends. Men and women came out at his call and we can picture the pretty home life such women as the beautiful Lioba* and Thecla, the learned Chunigild and Chunigat, would make in the heart of those German forests in those days of long ago. Here they founded the Abbey of Fulda which was the "S. Gall" of the district and here the monks Willibald, Wunnibald, Witta, and Wigbert from England, and the Bavarian Sturm made their center of missionary work. Let us see some of the teaching of this famous Boniface given to the converts preparing for Baptism.

Boniface's Sermon "Hearken my brethren and consider with attention what it is you have renounced. You have renounced the devil his works and vanities. What are the works of the devil? Pride, idolatry, envy, murder, calumny, falsehood, perjury, hatred, fornication, adultery and everything that defiles a man: such as stealing, bearing false witness,

* Lioba was his cousin and most gifted and accomplished as well as beautiful.

gluttony, drunkenness, strife and evil speaking. Devotion to sorceries and incantations, belief in witches and wer-wolves, wearing of amulets, rebellion against God. These and such as these are works of the devil. These you have renounced at your baptism and as says the Apostle they who do such things cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven. But believing as we do that you by God's mercy have abandoned all these iniquities, both in thought and deed, it remains to remind you my well beloved brethren of what you have promised in your baptism to do in their stead. For first of all you have promised to believe in God Almighty, in His Son Jesus Christ and in the Holy Ghost, one only God in perfect Trinity. See what are the commandments you must keep. You must love God whom you have confessed with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your strength, and next your neighbor as yourself. Be patient, merciful, good and chaste. Teach your children the fear of God and teach your servants also. Make peace where there are quarrels, let him who is a judge refuse to accept gifts, for gifts blind the judgment even of the wise. Remember to observe the Lord's Day and betake yourselves to the Church to pray there, not to amuse yourselves with empty babbling. Give alms according to your ability, practice hospitality, visit the sick, minister to the necessities of widows and of orphans, pay your tithes to the Church, do naught to any that you would not have done to you. Fear none but God, but fear Him always. Believe in the coming of Christ, in the resurrection of the flesh and in the universal judgment."

What an epitome of the catechism and the creed! Twelve hundred years ago this was preached and hu-

man nature is the same to-day, not "evolved!" Boniface as time went on established himself at Mainz having under him the Bishop of Cologne, Tongues, Spires, Worms, and Utrecht. More than once he went to Rome for advice and encouragement, and soon to his other work he added the Bishoprics of Salzburg, Freisingen, Ratisbon, and Passau. In fact his jurisdiction reminds one of the sees of some of our Bishops of North America, one of whom is called the "Bishop of all outdoors!" By the middle of the eighth century we also find this marvelous man acknowledged as over lord of Würzberg, Bamberg, and Eiclestadt. The difficulties he had to face were phenomenal. In addition to the heathen there were the disturbances caused by the inroads of the Saracens; the immoralities of the courts; and the vagaries of the heretics. All these had to be combated, and besides he must force on the people the austerities then esteemed a necessary part of Christian life. The description he gives of his favorite Abbey of Fulda shows by contrast a glimpse of some of the trials and agitations which beset his life.

Jurisdiction of Boniface

Hardships

"There is a wild spot in the depths of a vast solitude, in the midst of the people over whom my apostleship extends, where I have raised a monastery for brethren under the rule of S. Benedict, men bound to severe abstinence forbidden the use of wine or domestic service who shall be content with the work of

their own hands. I have acquired this possession from diverse pious persons and especially from Carloman, Prince of the Franks, and I have dedicated it in the name of the Saviour. There it is that, with the good will of your Holiness, I have determined to give repose for a few days to my body, broken as it is by old age, and to choose a place of Sepulture: for the spot is in the neighborhood of the four nations to which by the grace of God I have proclaimed the word of Christ."

But this dream was not to be. With a sort of aftermath of power he went forth again as missionary to the heathen, this time to his death in Northern Germany. By one of those wonderful coincidences of place so often seen, it was among the Frisians where he first found his work, that he ends it. As if anticipating his martyrdom he left his various charges in the hands of other people. He placed Bishops in every see and taking with him Eoban, a Bishop, Walltru and Wintrig, Bristo, Guedwaccar, Illesher, and Bathowold, monks, he passed down the Rhine and so out onto the Northern coast of Friesland. He took with him also his shroud. Here almost on their arrival they all were slain, and with their death ended the peaceful conversion of the Teutons.*

The vision of their martyrdom is a fit ending for such a life as that of Boniface. Surrounded by a num-

* For the beautiful incident of S. Boniface and the Oak, see "The first Christmas Tree" by Dr. Vandyke.

His last
mission

ber of candidates for Baptism, they were being prepared for that Holy Sacrament when the hostile natives entered. Seeing that death was determined, Boniface encouraged them to bear it. Turning his teaching for "Baptism into Christ's Death" into literal application, their foes fell on them and all were killed. Straight from this their Baptism of Blood they went to be "with him" in the paradise of God. In all the roll of martyrdoms not one is more full of beauty or of inspiration. Life taken up in absolute consecration is laid down in perfect trust. The prayers of Boniface left his lips to precede by only a few minutes his own entrance before his Saviour!

Charlemagne was the successor of Boniface in the mission field as converter of the Germans. He was not a man to brook the halting and bickering on the threshold of Christianity so patiently met and treated by Boniface. He offered his people conversion or conflict and wholesale were the Baptisms and "conversions" (so-called).

The story is not a pleasant one. At Verdun 4,500 captive Saxons are said to have been massacred in cold blood rather than submit to Baptism. By the year 804 Charlemagne's conquest, civil and religious, was complete, and he turned himself to the task of educating and digesting, as it were, the huge mass of this "raw material" that had been swallowed whole by Church and State. Alcuin of York was the man se-

lected to do this, and Corbey near Amiens and New Corbey on the Weser, the spots where the great schools were placed. Dean Merivale points out that each step in Teutonic conversion is marked by a great school.

S. Gall in the South is the monument to the Irish missions under the Merovingians; Fulda midway in the empire marks the work of the Anglo-Saxons under Boniface; so now the two Corbeys perpetuate the memory of Charlemagne and Alcuin.

Once more a period of conversion is over and a period of assimilation succeeds. There is one more struggle with heathenism in the land now ruled by Germans. Its story however belongs to the conversion of the Slavs, whose subjugation and conversion went hand in hand with the spread of Germanic power and influence. Prussia was the last stronghold of semi-Germanic heathenism, and Prussia has become in these last years the leader and the center of "United Germany." The work of Bp. Otto of Bamberg and the Order of Teutonic Knights, in settling and civilizing the mixed and fierce people who lived there, is only really ended with the Proclamation of the Empire of Versailles, when these same people trained and fitted by the centuries became the head of a mighty empire. So interwoven are the threads of history. Ulphilas and Severinus, Lupus and Nicentius, Columbanus and S. Gall, Bonifacius and

**Continuity
of German
history**

Winfrid, Charlemagne and Alcuin, Bishop Otto and the Teutonic Knights, together with the fair Lioba and gentle Ehrentrude, all have left their stamp on German genius and character. More and more as we study, we shall find that the type of Christianity planted in the hearts of the people determines the type of their civilization. All the various sources of Germanic Christianization were gathered into the great movement of the Reformation, and this in turn spread its net work of sympathetic chords over the land to ring out clear and full and strong in the national rising for a "United Fatherland."

There remains but one other picture of Teutonic conversion. That of the Northmen.

TABLE of the Principal Factors in the Conversion of the European Teutons.

LOCALITY.	DATE.	PEOPLE.	MISsIONARY OR CAUSE OF CONVERSION.	WHERE FROM.	CIRCUMSTANCE.
Worms.....	400 (cir.)	Burgundians	Fear of Huns.....	Baptized by Galli- can Bishop.....	The Burgundians were converted in order, under the power of Christ, to conquer the Huns.
	485.....	Franks	Clotilde, wife of Clovis Hope of victory over Huns.....	Baptized by Remi- grus.....	Orthodox Christianity triumphs over Arianism.
			Clovis.....	Baptized by Galli- can Bishop.....	Clovis introduces forced baptisms.
Troyes.....	527 (cir.)	Allemani.	Nicentius.		
Scheidt & Meuse.....	620 (cir.)	Franks	Lupus of Sens.		
Geldres & Friesland.....		Franks	S. Aloysius.		
Maestrecht.....		Aquitaniens.	S. Owen, pupil of.	Rome.	
Flanders.....			S. Amandus.....		
			Barns, Floribert, Humbert.		
Thuringia.....	670 (cir.)	Eustatius and Aegilius Ravegunde, a Christian Queen.....	Eustatius and Aegilius Ravegunde, a Christian Queen.....	Luxeuil, Monks.	
Ratisbon.....	700 (cir.)	Ostrogoths	Emmeran.....	Burgundy.	
Salzburg.....		Rupert of Worms.....	Gaul.....		
		Ehrentrude.....	Gaul.....		
Thuringia.....	670 (cir.)	Wurtzb'gers	S. Killian, Colman, Totnan	Ireland.....	
Bobbio.....		Swiss.....	S. Columbanus.....	Ireland	
S. Gall.....	610 (cir.)	Visigoths Ostrogoths and Carin- thians	S. Gall.....	Ireland	
Salzburg.....	750 (cir.)	(Failed)	Bishop Dobla, Alto and Vigilius.....	Ireland	
Frisia.....	716 (cir.)	S. Boniface, (Wilfrid).....	S. Boniface, (Wilfrid).....	England *	
		Willibald	Willibald	England *	

* Consecrated in Rome.

TABLE of the Principal Factors in the Conversion of the European Teutons.

Locality.	Date.	People.	Missionary or Cause of Conversion.	Where From.	Circumstance.
Fulda.....					
Salzburg.....					
Freisingen.....					
Ratisbon.....					
Passau.....					
Wurtzburg.....					
Bamberg.....					
Eichstadt.....					
Friesland.....					
Verdun.....	780 (cir.)	Massacre of 4,500 who would not accept baptism.....	Charlemagne, Edict of Spires.....	Bremen, Osnaburg, Paderborn, Munster, Minden, Verden, Hildesheim, Halberstadt were the Sees established Alouin.....	Establishment of eight Bishoprics, with several power. Very influential in spread of Christianity. A pulpit, tribunal, and asylum in each Bishopric Corvey and later (833) New Corvey founded.
Spires.....	788			England.....	
Weser.....	810			England.....	
Esthalla, Westphalia, Engern, Pomerania, The shores of the Baltic.....	1190			Bamby. Europe.....	An order organized during the Crusades, and after they were over devoted to fighting Heathenism in Pomerania.

* Consecrated in Rome.

CHAPTER IV

CONVERSION OF THE NORTHMEN

Part III.—The Northmen

The third great group of the Teutons comprises the present nations of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The first two in the story of their conversion belong together, while the third, Norway, is a story by itself.

A. SWEDEN AND DENMARK

**Advent of
the North-
men in
Europe** In the early days, the days of Charlemagne, Denmark was known by the name of Jutland, so called from its position on the sea-shore. In those days the men of Jutland as well as those of Sweden and Norway were rovers, separate tribes, wandering about the country, fighting with one another and bringing terror to the peaceful shores of Europe. Charlemagne saw their ships from his palace windows in his old age and wept to think of the days soon to come when, the force of his presence removed, these Sea Kings would ravage his country, and destroy the newly established arts and ways of peace.

**How met
by Charle-
magne**

When you cannot conquer a foe, the best way is to make him a friend. Charlemagne conceived the idea of converting the Northmen. His son, Louis le Debonnaire, carried it out and of the restless wandering Viking was, in time, made the industrious, domestic Dane and Swede.

**Parts taken
by their
Kings in
converting
the
nation**

A characteristic of the conversion of these races is the part taken by their Kings. In nearly every case the ruler is first converted and from the force of his example and precept as well as right royal persuasion, his people in turn are convinced and baptized. We have had conversions of the people through the King by the peaceful force of conviction as among the Celts. We have had the conversion of the people by strong persuasion from outside forces, as in England. We have also had their conversion by royal compulsion as in Saxony. We now have it effected among the Northmen by a blending of all these methods, to which we must add a new element the enlightening influences upon these roving vikings of travel and sojourning in Christian courts. The sight and experience of what Christianity meant to the nations they visited was over and over again the cause of the King's conversion.

In the days of Charlemagne missions were only planned, but during the reign of his son a great event occurred. The king of Jutland, Harold Klak, **Conversion
of Den-
mark** came to Mainz seeking baptism with his fair queen Judith. It happened in this way. He had sought the help of Louis in some of his

local wars and Ebbo, the great Primate of France, went with the army to try and make an opportunity for the extension of Christ's Kingdom. He was gone three years and while he accomplished little among the people he won the King and Queen. On his return they came with him and Louis and his Queen stood sponsors for Harold and Judith in the "Dom zu Mainz." Picture to yourself the scene: the great Cathedral in its newness, the pomp and ceremony of a court wishing to impress the stranger King and Queen, the men at arms, the chanting priests and choir! It is as though in these days (were he a Christian) the Emperor of Japan should stand sponsor for the King of Korea. The Frankish kingdom then, as Japan now, was only newly started in its career as leader among the nations. The Peninsula of Jutland then, as Korea now, was only newly united and coming into touch with the then modern life. But the great magnet of the cross was in France to thrill the dull iron of their hearts as it is not to-day in Japan. Had we done our duty to Japan as England then had done to Europe, in sending missionaries, different would be the story of the progress of the East in our time.

To find a man willing to go back with Harold to Jutland in those fierce barbaric days was well nigh impossible. At last, however, he appeared. As S. Patrick for Ireland, S. Columba for Scotland, S. Augustine and S. Aiden

for England, S. Ulphilas for Eastern, S. Boniface for Western, Germany, so now S. Anskar for Denmark and Sweden. Before he was needed, the special man for each country had been trained and fitted for the work. To the dreamy and imaginative Northman with his curious combination of energy and contemplation is sent Anskar, the dreamer of dreams, the seer of visions and the man at the same time of simple perseverance, industry, and self-denial.

His life Anskar's mother died when he was only five years old, but it can be a comfort to many mothers to know that all through his life dreams of her and whisperings of her voice guided and influenced her boy. Her work was only begun when she left him apparently forever in this world. He must have been of a peculiarly gentle and loving disposition, for he clung to her memory in a way astonishing for anyone, especially a boy who lost her so young. He seemed to see her in heaven amid a bright and shining throng and to hear her tell him that only by casting off all love of this world could he join her there. This then became his ambition and in the convent of New Corbey on the Weser he was a most diligent pupil and faithful novice. Soon to this dream of the past was added another for the future. He craved the glory and the honour of martyrdom. And in the visions of his dreams it seemed to him that his Lord came to him and told him to go to

Jutland and "he would return to Him crowned with martyrdom." When therefore King Louis sent to the convent to find a man to go to what seemed certain death, Anskar offered. His offer was accepted and with a companion named Autbert he set forth. All through these stories one is struck by the power of companionship. Hardly any of the missionaries of those days go alone; some one or many go with them and together, one supplying the defects of the other, they work for Christ.

**Hadeby
the first
station** They settled at a place called Hadeby, starting a school and station. All was not smooth sailing. Anskar and Autbert began by purchasing children and educating them in the Faith. Think of that! The founders of Danish Christianity and civilization began with the methods we use now in Africa and China! But the people hated the religion of the French King who seemed to be conquering them politically and were bitterly opposed to his missionaries. Anskar had to leave the station at Hadeby and Autbert died at New Corbey.

**Conversion
of Sweden
begun** The ardent missionary was not however to be idle. Just at this moment, Biörn, the then King of Sweden, sent to Louis of France ambassadors, who, among other objects, came to ask that missionaries might be sent to them. Louis thought of Anskar and commanded him to leave Harold and betake himself to Sweden. An-

other man was put in charge of the Jutland mission and Anskar with a monk named Widhald, set forth. Their journey reads like a book of adventures. Their ship was wrecked off the Swedish coast, and all the inducements they had brought with them to influence the Swedes to become Christians were lost. Gifts, books, provisions, etc., all were gone. Unable to speak the language or to understand the people, the two men struggled on over moor and fen, mountains and morass, until they reached the Court of King Biörn. It must have been a rough sort of place that court in those wild days among that untamed people. But Anskar's earnestness and devotion prevailed and Heriger, the King's Councillor, was one of the first to profess Christianity. The story of this man awakes enthusiasm. Almost alone in his belief among an ignorant, superstitious people, he built a Church on his own estate and throughout his life with court favour or displeasure, according as the King was or was not disposed to favour his religion, he remained faithful to his Christ. Even when the missionaries withdrew and he was seemingly left alone, he still remained steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. His work was not in vain. God gave him his reward and the lamp which he lighted in the Church never went out. But this is anticipating. To go back to our story.

Anskar
made
Bishop of
the North

Anskar stayed till many thanes and nobles were converted and it seemed certain that the mission would live. He then went back to report progress to Louis and be consecrated Bishop. This was done with great pomp at Ingelheim. Anskar then journeyed to Rome to receive the pallium of Archbishop of the North, and arrange for a joint jurisdiction with Ebbo. That Prelate had received authority in Jutland many years before and the act conferring it was still in force. He then returned and with Ebbo arranged that Ganzbert, the nephew of Ebbo, should go as Bishop to Sweden and that Anskar should build a great missionary center at Hamburg.

Ganzbert,
Bishop of
Sweden

This was done. A large monastery with schools, settlement buildings and a Church, was erected and may be called the beginning of Hamburg as a great commercial and international center. "L'homme propose et Dieu dispose." A new King Eric succeeded the Christian Harold in Jutland. He was a heathen, and long and bloody battles were waged between the Christian and pagan Jarls and vikings of the kingdom. At one time almost

Persecution

all the viking nobility in Denmark were slain. Eric then turned his attention to the destruction of Hamburg, that center and seed-scatterer of missionary education and influence. He descended with great fury.

The inhabitants were not ready, the town was taken, the monastery, Church, and all the buildings burned to the ground and Anskar and his followers barely escaped. "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, Blessed be the name of the Lord," said Anskar and he went to work elsewhere.

Ganzbert meanwhile had been driven out of Sweden by a similar heathen reaction there. Nothing would induce him to return, so Anskar went boldly back in his place. This time he was much cheered. Heriger was faithful. A council of the chiefs decided that Anskar might preach and baptize. Erimbert, a companion of Anskar's, was consecrated Bishop and Anskar was able when he left to feel that the Church in Briba, the capital, was firmly and finally established. This, however, was for Briba only. Many years elapsed before the waters of the Gospel trickled over the whole of Sweden, washing it clean from the blot of heathenism.

Anskar now returned to Denmark. There things were very discouraging; but the ^{Return of} ^{Anskar to} ^{Denmark} Bishop of Bremen having died, it was decided to unite that see to the rest of Anskar's despoiled bishopric and he now had plenty of men and means to work with. He opened a school and church at Schleswick, whose bell pealing over the hills and calling people to pray was a great influence. Eric II. being more favourable to the faith than Eric I., Christianity gradually established itself till Anskar felt able to return to

Hamburg. There he built up again what had been destroyed and laboured many years. His life was self-denial and hardship to the end. He never relaxed the rigour of his monastic rule or his simplicity of life. One of his most famous utterances is characteristic. "One miracle I would ask of the Lord if I were worthy, and that is that he would make of me a good man." He knew not what fear was and fought with all his influence against the evil of the day, slavery. The end however was near. His long journeys and many hardships told on his health. He was only sixty-four but his strength was gone.

Death of Anskar Sorrowfully he felt that death was near and not that which he had coveted, martyrdom.

He brooded over his disappointment, but one day he saw His Master in a vision saying: "Thou shalt not lose thy reward," and so comforted he "fell on sleep" on the eve of the Purification 865. Seventy years later Gorm became the first King of all Denmark and the law of Toleration for Christians in all parts of the kingdom, and the abolition of human sacrifices was passed.

Denmark was won for Christ, Anskar's work built on Ebbo's foundation was done. Ebbo's words to him were fulfilled, "Be assured brother that what we have striven to accomplish for the glory of Christ will bring forth fruit in the Lord; for it is my firm and settled

belief, nay, I know of a surety that though what we have undertaken amongst these nations is subject for a time to obstacles and difficulties, on account of our sins, yet it will not be lost or perish altogether, but will, by God's grace, thrive and prosper, until the name of the Lord is made known to the farthest ends of the earth." Even so come Lord Jesus in all lands. Amen.

B. NORWAY

Last, but not least, in the story of the conversion of the Teutons, we come to that of the Norwegians.

**Close connection of
Early England and
Norway**

" To Noroway, to Noroway,
To Noroway, o'er the faem
The King's boat to Noroway
'Tis there it takes us haem."

So sang the old ballad maker and we Anglo-Saxons may well repeat it, for to Norway trace we much of our lineage. Norway, Denmark, and Sweden were "The Continent" to England in the eighth and ninth centuries. Thence came the Danish Kings and the inroads of Danish invasions. The Danish wars and counterwars preceded the later wars with France. The Normans too were Northmen coming by way of Normandy to conquer England for the last time that it was to be conquered by an outside race. To turn to its story is like turning to the story of a relative and a friend. The missionaries here are Kings and the

**Royal mis-
sionaries**

Court and Royal Army the propaganda of the Church. Wild and lawless were the times, restless and restive under government, the people. But little by little the Hero Kings of Norway won their way and their free brave people became a people devoted to the "White Christ" as they called him. The Norwegians seem to have clung to their old tribal form of government longer than any of the other Teutonic peoples. Two hundred years before them had the Danes and then the Swedes united themselves under one ruler. Not so the Norwegians. They remained divided into separate tribes and families. It is interesting to see how the struggle for unity of the nation, is the history at the same time of the advance of the Cross over the Raven and the Hammer of Thor. The intervals between the great Christian Kings are filled up with heathen relapses and national decomposition. After each period of disintegration, the people are more and more inclined to accept Christianity and the national unity which seemed to go with it. The story is so admirably sketched in Dr. Maclear's "Northmen" it seems a pity to retell it except in merest outline.

As stated at the beginning of this volume, the pre-reformation history of Missions is the history of the building of the nations which to-day make the civilized world. The Post-reformation history of Missions is

doubtless that of the nations who will be great leaders to-morrow. Each nation converted in turn brings its own contribution to the great universal story of the progress of mankind from the garden of Eden to the city of the Great King. This is vividly seen in the story of Norway. Halfdan the Blackhaired was the first of

Beginning
of United
Norway

the great Norwegian Jarls who rose above the others and aimed at a solid kingdom and united policy. Living about the year 850

and perhaps influenced by the picture of unity in Denmark, even then visible there; descended from Odin and Olave the Tree Hewer, the first explorer and settler of Norway in the legends of the Teutons; he conquered several of the other chiefs. In his reign and that of his son Harold Haarfager, the struggle to unite Norway and establish the feudal system was won. From the first the nobles and freeholders rebelled against the new dues and taxations and most of them, finding Halfdan too strong for successful resistance, emigrated to Iceland. That island and the Orkneys, Faroe and Shetland Islands were settled in consequence by the "flower of Scandinavia." It was this same cause which sent Hrolf the Ganger and his followers to Normandy. Here (after accepting Christianity and the Baptism of Hrolf at what was afterwards known as *Rouen*, from his name Hrolf, Rue or Rollo) the Northmen experienced that change of character which made out of the roving Norwegian the set-

tled Norman. In fact these restlessnesses at home were the primal cause of the inroads which stained the shores of Europe for so many years with blood. Here was also one of the means whereby the people became Christian. Travel, that great educator, taught the Northman much. He wandered to Gaul, to Rome, to Constantinople, to England, over all we find him, and everywhere he found Christianity and Christian civilization. He came back and told his people what he had seen. It created for him and for them an ideal for which to strive.

Later one of the sons of Harold Haarfager, **Beginning of Christian Norway** his "child of his old age," named Hakon, was sent to the Court of Athelstan and brought up by that "glorious" monarch as his son. He was baptized and educated as a Christian. Years afterwards his ambition was roused to build for himself a kingdom in his own country, rent and torn by the uproars caused by his bad half brothers and their wicked wives. His design was fostered by Athelstan. The people flocked to his banners for he promised them most impossible happinesses should he be victorious. He was victorious, and popular. One of the old Jarls, Sigurd, became his especial champion. All went well until Hakon made known the desire of his heart, the establishment of Christianity. On several occasions he had great difficulty to escape joining in the heathen rites at the great gatherings

of the people or "Things" as they were called. Finally at one "Froste Thing," the principal meeting of the year, he yielded so far as to inhale some of the horse-flesh offered to Odin. The people were much dissatisfied; it was so clearly evident to them that he did it only under compulsion, while on his part the King chafed under the mortification and distress at having gone against his conscience. Like all compromises with evil it only made matters worse. The King brooded over his disgrace and shortly afterwards attacked the people of Drontheim in revenge for his humiliation. He was slain. Once dead, the people mourned him and the days of good government he had given them. A halo of advantages began to hover about his memory and he was called "Hakon the Good." An inclination favourable to the hitherto hated Christianity arose and it began to spread. Several years, however, elapsed before active steps were taken to establish it. At last a nephew of Hakon, a Christian, became King and the people had once more a royal missionary. Olaf Tryggveson, great nephew of Hakon, escaped the fury of his aunt Gunhild, who tried to slay all the "king's sons," and fled with his mother to the court of the then King of Russia, where

he was brought up. It is interesting to notice the intimacy of the Northern nations in those days. The Emperors of Russia as legend tells us were themselves Norwegians, invited

Olaf Tryggveson

by the Slavs to come and rule over them, and the two peoples were constantly visiting back and forth. Olaf became a great favourite with the Empress till the Emperor became jealous of him and it was thought prudent for him to leave Russia. He wandered to Vendland, where he married in a most romantic manner and lived happily for three years. His wife then died. He had been most devoted to her and his grief drove him forth to seek consolation in travel and adventure. He had plenty of both. First of all a most important event occurred, he became a Christian. He landed on a little island, where after the fashion of those days a Culdee Anchorite had settled to live a life of solitude and prayer. Olaf's strong impetuous nature was won by the story of the Cross as told by this "solitary" and he was baptized. Wandering on further to Ireland he there married, in a still more romantic manner, an Irish Princess and shortly after went to England, where he was confirmed by the Bishop of Winchester.

Here, left a widower, Olaf decided to return to Norway and try to win for himself the crown of his fathers. He succeeded in winning the crown and then like Hakon he tried to plant the Cross. The people as in Hakon's time rebelled and tried to force him to sacrifice in honour of Odin. Not weak like his great uncle he consented apparently to do his people's will, but said he would not have so poor a sacrifice as that they had provided. He would make a royal sacrifice and

straightway seized on several of the principal Jarls for victims, shutting them up "to fatten!" This cooled the ardour of the people considerably. They begged him to desist and after persuasion he consented, on condition that if he might not do his will in this case they would all consent to receive baptism. This was done, and Christianity established! He caught them with guile certainly. Next Olaf proceeded to convert Iceland and the general mass of his people. His success was wonderful, for all went well until he sought a third bride. This was none other than the Queen of Sweden, a most hard hearted lady. She had already killed two suitors in order "to discourage others." Olaf nothing daunted but rather attracted by her bluntness proposed to wed her and sent her as betrothal ring the great gold ornament from Odin's temple. The canny lady examined the ring and found it only goldplated; as Olaf further insisted that Baptism was one of the requisites in his wife, she broke off the match. Olaf most ungallantly expressed himself as "content to have it so," and she angered at his indifference married out of spite the King of Denmark, persuading him to go to war with Olaf. The war assumed a religious character. The Kings met at sea and in a fierce fight Olaf's ship was taken and he himself leaped overboard to escape capture. In all missionary history there is nothing more inspiring than this gallant, brave, earnest missionary

King. He had a most marvelous power over the hearts of men. His spirits were never depressed. He was equal to every occasion. He never knew when he was defeated, and after his death the thought of his cross covered shield, and what it meant, haunted the memory of his countrymen, and has never since died out of the pages of their history. In spite of this however a

Saint Olaf

period of heathen reaction intervened, till another Olaf known as Saint Olaf, the greatest hero king of Norway, came to the throne.

He was a distant cousin of the first Olaf, a Christian, and on his way to the Holy Land, when a vision called him back to Norway to win his people and his realm for Christ. These dreams are like flashes of Northern lights in the story of the nation's conversion.

He won his people for himself but for Christ it was a harder matter. He made many enemies and finally things reached a crisis. A pitched battle was fought between Olaf and the White Christ on the one side, with the heathen and the Jarls on the other. The result is best given in the words of Dr. Maclear:

“Early in his career as King we hear that on board his ship he was attended by a bodyguard of a hundred men. The majority of these carried shields on which the holy cross was painted in blue or red or even in some cases in gold. Their helmets also bore the same sacred device painted in a pale colour. * * *

“Olaf now marshaled his troops who had daily in-

creased in numbers since he crossed the border and carefully ascertained that no man who had elected to fight on his side in the impending battle was unbaptized. Bishop and Priests were at hand to administer the rite to those who had not received it previously. This settled, the King announced that the war-cry would be 'forward Christ's men! Cross-men! King's-men!' His soldiers wore the cross both on shield and helmet, painted in white. He himself carried a white shield on which the cross gleamed in gold. They now sat down to rest, Olaf in their midst, and such was his composure of mind that he fell asleep in this anxious interval and dreamed a heavenly dream. But the attack came at last and the battle waged fiercely through the summer day. Smitten as the day wore on with three deadly wounds, the King passed away from earth with a prayer on his lips.

* * * * *

"Eight hundred years have passed since ready armed and waiting for his last battle this great calm king could sleep like a little child and waking expatiate on the sweetness of his dream which the advance of the enemy had interrupted. Climbing a ladder which reached to Heaven's gate, he seemed he said to have but one more step to take to reach the glorious goal. The 'one step' was soon taken and the golden threshold crossed but the picture of that halt before the battle is one we could not afford to lose. It was a grand closing scene of a life of faith: There were the 'rest and peacefulness, the standing still, the quietness of action determined, of spirit unalarmed, of expectation unimpatient,—beautiful even when based only as of old, on the self command, and self possession, the persistent dignity, or the uncalculating love of the crea-

ture—but more beautiful when the rest is one of humility instead of pride and the trust no more in the resolution we have taken but in the Hand we hold."

It is indeed a wonderful picture. But all his life was wonderful. Stained often it is true with hardness and cruelty, and beset with trials none but a stern character could meet. We have him in his greatness and his weakness both. One of his great acts was sending to England for Bishop Grimkil to be his companion and helper in his work of conversion. And again we see him driven out by his people, humbly wandering in other lands till another vision called him back to fight once more for his cross and crown. It is a brave life and a brave death and like Samson of old he won "more by his death than he had by his life."

Of all these pictures of Royal emissaries of the King of kings, one of the most pleasing is that of Magnus, a son of this Saint Olaf. Brought up in his turn far from home, owing to the possession of Norway by Cnute and Swend of England, he also felt his father's yearning to win back his native crown. He was successful in a great battle, on the eve of which his father in dreams appeared to him promising him victory. Magnus was gifted with many of his father's characteristics, besides that of dreaming dreams. He was also a doer of deeds and earnest in aiding in every way the progress

Magnus

of Christianity in his kingdom and the establishment of a wise and liberal government.

One night again in his dreams he saw his father who offered him a choice. "My son wilt thou follow me or commit a great crime thou mayest never expiate?" In his dream it seemed to Magnus that he answered, "Choose thou for me my father," and the answer came low and joyfully, "Thou shalt follow me." Shortly after this Magnus in riding was thrown and killed. His father had called for him. In the next reign Christianity was established, no longer to relapse, and the missionary history of Norway was ended.

Conversion of Iceland Soon after, that of Iceland, begun by the first Olaf, was completed and the Norwegians as a race were folded in the Church of Christ.

Culdee Anchorites had first settled in Iceland, but these had cared only for themselves and had little or no influence on the hordes of heathen Norwegians who came over in the ninth century.

Culdee Anchorites A story is told of an Irish Queen, widow of the King of Dublin, "known as Auda the rich," who came there and lived for many years, but she died among a people still heathen and was buried beyond lowtide, so that "her grave might not be defiled by heathen footsteps." The real work of conversion was begun by the first Olaf who sent a Saxon monk, Thangbrand, to labour there. Olaf the Saint built a

Auda the rich

Church and finally in the fall of the year 1000 the people formally, in deliberate assembly, decided to embrace Christianity. All were to be baptized we are told, but secret practices of ancient rites were not to be persecuted. From Iceland missionaries worked their way to Greenland and by the year 1200 it might be said that all the Teutonic races were converted to Christ. At least they worshipped no heathen deity.

The story of the Northmen has not dealt with private individuals as in England or on the continent. There has been little or none of that feminine element so noticed as a characteristic elsewhere of Teutonic conversions. Strong, manly, keen, as one of their own fresh Northern breezes, reads the story of these royal missionaries. Brilliant, glowing with enthusiasm as one of their Northern lights, these Cross-men of the North are fit examples and inspirers for the manhood of to-day: For the royal manhood showing them how kings can win their people: For wealthy manhood showing how they may best use their means and gifts: For brave courageous manhood showing how noblest they can live and die for their generation.

There are many glimpses of dark cruelty in the story, persecutions, tortures and deeds of violence; but we must remember always it was not a day or time of nerves. Physical pain was not then what it is now after centuries of refinement and avoidance of suffering. Minds were not so keenly trained and the nervous

systems of men and women not so tinglingly near the surface. We must believe this so, or people could not have lived. The point to notice is the devotion of men high in life, according to the standpoint of this world, and what it was possible for them to do with and in their station for their people and for God.

So closes the Teutonic people's missionary history. When we meet them again on the mission field they are in turn the "sent" to other nations. Let us follow them to the last great work of the pre-reformation mission period, the conversion of the Slavs. It is a work not yet finished, but its starting takes us to the boundary of the Reformation days, and it has its fitting beginning in the dying words of S. Olaf:

"Forward Christ-men, Cross-men, King's men."
Amen.

Conversion of the Northmen

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TABLE of the Principal Factors in the Conversion of the Northmen.

Locality.	Date.	People.	Missionary or Cause of Conversion.	Where From.	Circumstance.
Jutland.....	822.....	Jutes or Northmen	Louis le Débonnaire. Ebbo, Primate of France. Haligar	Gaul. Cambrai.....	825 Baptism of Harold Klak and his wife in the "Dom zu Mainz." Anschar was consecrated Bishop of Albania by Ebbo and Drogo of Metz at Ingelheim. He then founds Hamburg Church monastery and college.
Denmark.....	827.....		Anschar and Autbert.....	New Corbey	
Sweden.....	831.....		Anschar and Witmar.....	New Corbey	
Sweden.....	.....	Swedes	Ganzbert.....	Nephew of Ebbo.	
Sigurts.....	.....	Swedes	Ardgar	Swedish convent.	
Brika, Sweden.....	880 ('cir.)	Swedes	Heriger	Swedish convent.	
Norway.....	.....		Athelstan and Hakon.....	England	Hakon, son of King of Norway, brought up as foster-son of Athelstan, and as a Christian.
Norway.....	975.....		The "meetings of the 'Things,'" Emperor Otto II. conquers Harold	Germany	Harold only retained his throne on condition of becoming a Christian. Converted by an anchorite on one of the Islands.
Norway.....	984.....		Olaf Tryggvesson.....	Russia	Olaf travels to Denmark.
Norway.....	1005.....			(Confirmed in Winchester, England.)	Sweden, Finland, England, Normandy, all Christian countries except Finland.
Norway.....	.....		Saint Olaf.....	The advance of his army and the advance of the X simultaneous.	Sent for by Olaf to help convert the Norwegians.
Norway.....	.....		Bishop Grimkell.....	Englishman	
				The decision of the King..	

TABLE of the Principal Factors in the Conversion of the Northmen.

LOCALITY.	DATE.	PEOPLE.	MISsIONARY OR CAUSE OF CONVERSION.	WHERE FROM.	CIRCUMSTANCE.
Norway.....	1035	"Flower of Scandinavia" (cum).	Magnus the Good.....	Much in Russia.	
Iceland.....	892	Coldee Anchorites.....	Ireland largely.....	Ireland	They make no impression on the inhabitants, however.
Iceland.....	980	Widow of Olaf the White.....	King of Dublin.		
Iceland.....	996	Bishop Frederic.....	Saxony, a Saxon.....	Sent by Olaf Tryggvesson.	
Iceland.....	1000	Thangbrand.....			
Iceland.....	1000	Althing at Thingvalla.....			
		Isleif first Bishop of Iceland.....			Acceptance of Christianity by the people's vote.

CHAPTER V.

Part I

THE CONVERSION OF EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SLAVS

From West to East We now turn to the last great conquest of the Cross before the Reformation. It is on a new and strange field. The Eastern half of Europe is as unlike the Western in type of inhabitant and civilization as it is in geographical outline and configuration. The Slav takes the place of the Teuton. The vast steppes and plains of Russia succeed to the valleys of France and Germany, and the hills of Norway and Switzerland.

Its peoples There are several new and strange peoples to greet us as we cross the borderland from west to east. There are the Finns, the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and formerly of vast numbers; the Turks, a late arrival dating from the ninth century; and the Letto-Lithuanians, a mixture of Turk and Finn. Over all these three towers the Russian Slav. At first possessing only about one-fifth of

European Russia (and numbering, in the earliest list we have of them about fourteen tribes while the Finns numbered thirty-three and "filled the land"), they now have eaten up the earth and all its people till they outnumber their former rivals at the rate of fifty-nine millions to eight and one-half or over eight to one, and rule over more than half of Europe besides possessions in Asia.

Slav and Teuton compared The Slav has well been called the Teuton of the East. The analogy is striking. While the Teutonic peoples may be grouped under two great heads, those of Roman and those of Celtic moulding, so the Slav may be classified as the Romanized and the Byzantinized. The Eastern Slav and the Western Teuton came under the Anti-Roman influence of the Grecian and Celtic Church, while the Eastern Teuton and the Western Slav fell under the fascination of the Roman lullaby. The Pole and the Bohemian, the Hungarian, and the Lieflander as well as the Austrian are striking contrasts to the Teuton of Germany and England and the Slav of Russia.

Conflict of Rome with Celtic and Greek Church

While the real conflict of Rome with Celtic Christianity was practically delayed until the Reformation, in the East of Europe it is another matter. Missionaries from Rome and Missionaries from Constantinople in the ninth century began at once a struggle for possession, which has abided to the present time, by its then decision.

Cause of conflict

Oddly enough the cause of the conflict in both cases has much in common. In both it is partly political, in both it is largely on the question of a Bible in their own or the Latin tongue.

The struggle of the Reformation broke up the unity of the "Holy Roman Empire" in the West. The struggle of the Pope with the Slavic Bible and clergy established German sway over the Slavic countries bordering on the East of Germany; Poland and Pomerania, Bohemia and Lithuania being the Germanized victims of the Roman Missionary and conquests of the German crown.

Freedom of Russia under Greek Church

Russia on the other hand builds for itself under the greater freedom of the Missionaries from Constantinople its own literature, with the Bible in its own tongue at its head, its own kingdom subject to no foreign rule at the priests' dictation, and with a succession of Bishops of its own race, who build out of its many tribes a unified Russia as in England its Bishops there builded a unified Anglo-Saxondom.

Probable result had Bishop been a politician

Had the Patriarch of Constantinople looked towards a temporal throne doubtless the fate of the Slav in the East would have been that of the Teuton in the West, and a Holy Constantinopolitan Empire been opposed to the Holy Roman one we know. But the Eastern Church has never

been envious of temporal power. As in the case of her missionaries to the Goths on the Danube, so here, her missionaries to the Volga builded for the people to whom they were sent a national Church. They first of all invented an alphabet, translated the Bible, next the liturgy into Slav, and then proceeded to train and consecrate a Slavonic clergy.*

**Greek
Church
and the
Bible**

Indeed, if we omit the translations of the Bible into Latin before S. Jerome, whose version was the first generally received version, and recall that it was in the East, not in Rome, that he translated it, if we remember that Ulphilas made the first and only Teutonic Bible till Wycliff's time, that Cyril and Methodius gave the Bible to the Slav, and then consider that every translation of the Bible into a new tongue in these post-Reformation days has been made by Missionaries holding their Bibles from Teutonic and Eastern sources, we may say that it is to the Eastern Church alone that we owe the Bible for the world. She has nobly and notably proved herself to be the "Custodian of the Word of God," giving it as the great treasure to her messengers with which to nourish the nations to whom she

*Bible translations due to Eastern Church:

Syriac
Coptic
Armenian
Ethiopic
Gothic and from this the English } Translations by the Teutonic Missionaries into Slavic modern tongues

sends them. The East holds not the sun, she passes it on from land to land till it reaches the utmost bounds of the West. One can fancy that this spirit of Eastern liberality came to England if not by other representatives, at least with the Greek Monk Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury. That this spirit breathed again in Wycliff, Huss and Luther and so through them to our own day.

Slavic paganism We must linger here no longer, but must turn to the Missionary story of the Slav. In pagan religion his was a more degraded form than that we found among the Teutons. Some of it reminds us of the wild Indian tribes of North America. They scalped their enemies and used their skulls as drinking cups. They had war dances and planted spears and shields about their burial mounds. They killed horses, dogs, and slaves to go with their masters to eternity. They worshipped a sword stuck into the ground, and they had thank offerings after victory. They were most superstitious and looked to every trifling event for augury of good or evil. Charms and amulets they used in abundance.

First contact with Christianity Whatever contact with Christianity in early days they may have had (and tradition floats S. Andrew to Kief where he predicts that a great Christian kingdom will be established). The first permanent conversion of any of their tribes

(unless we count Armenia as belonging to them, converted by Gregory Thaumaturgus to be "the first Christian kingdom") is that of Bulgaria in the ninth century. It came about in this wise.

Conversion of Bulgaria For many years there seems to have been a bitter conflict between the kingdom of Bulgaria and the empire of Constantinople. Em-

peror after emperor was attacked and harassed by those wild and lawless barbarians. They were to the Eastern empire what the Teutons were to the Western. But unlike the Teutons they failed to conquer the city or its empire. And in turn the civilization and Christianity of the East failed to plant itself at once among them. There was no general and immediate acceptance of Christianity such as we have seen among the Teutons of Gaul and Italy in Apostolic days. It was only after centuries of hand to hand conflict of the bitterest type that the Cross prevailed.

Influence of women and of city of Constantinople And first of all we hear again amid the strife the sweet notes of woman's influence taming these savage hearts. Early in the ninth century a sister of the Bulgarian king was kept a captive in Constantinople.* Here the princess stayed

* It is not the first time that this marvelous city, "The first Christian city of the world," has proved by its simple self, a missionary. Here it was that Ulphilas caught his inspiration, and here again and again, this city, the antithesis of the "Wholly-given-to-Idolatry," Athens, won the tardy Slav to Christ. The Russians most of all attest its marvelous power.

for over thirty years and learned to know and love her Saviour. At the end of this long time a Christian monk was captured by her brother Bogoris in Bulgaria, and an exchange was proposed to the Empress Theodora. This took place and Olga as she was called returned to her people. Thirty years in a strange and Christian city had altered Olga. She was no longer the same princess as when a young girl she had left her home. She was now a Christian. By sweetness and by gentleness she tried to win her brother King Bogoris to the truth she had learned to love. But though impressed Bogoris was not convinced until a dire calamity turned his thoughts more seriously towards Christianity. At this far distant date it is impossible to decide from the conflicting accounts whether it was a famine or a pestilence, perhaps both, which turned the scale. Bogoris prayed in vain to all his heathen deities for deliverance, and finally, in response to his sister's entreaties consented to be baptized and pray to God.

At midnight with the greatest secrecy was the ceremony performed by the Archbishop ^{Baptism of} ^{Bogoris} Photius of Constantinople, and the Greek emperor's name and sponsorship by proxy lent an almost political aspect to the occasion. It shows how much the religion and the empire were regarded as synonymous, and explains partly the bitterness of the Bulgarians against a religion that they

regarded as identified with a people with whom they were in deadly feud, a feud that was over three hundred years old. Conversion with Bogoris was, however, not conviction, and for several years his baptism was a dead letter. At last, sending to Constantinople

His conversion for decorators for his palace two brothers arrived which were to become celebrated in the missionary field. Cyril was a great linguist and Methodius was an artist. Instead of the usual designs upon the walls Methodius depicted the scenes of the last judgment with such details of horror that Bogoris in turn threw away his idols and announced to his astonished people the fact of his baptism.

Revolt of his people Indignant at what they termed a betrayal of their country, a fierce struggle ensued between the king and the bulk of the people.

The king having once taken his stand was intrepid. He fought bravely with the Cross on his breast and would make no compromise with idolatry. He won. But the people were restless, the influence of the East was weakened by emissaries from the various sects of those days all teaching a various doctrine and finally Bogoris sent to the then Pope, Nicholas I., a long list of one hundred and six questions for his perusal and advice. Manners and morals as well as matters of doctrine were comprehended in these one hundred and six dilemmas, and the Pope's answer was

most astute as well as helpful. While rebuking the cruelties with which Bogoris had sought to implant the faith, and the haughtiness with which the customs of the country caused him to treat his wife, the Pope condemned polygamy and urged the substitution of Christian for heathen forms of promises and discipline. The result was a great eagerness for this milder form of the faith, and since Bogoris also sent to the Western Emperor for his opinion and received Bishops and Clergy from both Pope and Emperor, the kingdom for

Conflict between Rome and Constantinople a time received quite a Western tendency. This, however, provoked bitter opposition in Constantinople, and a long series of controversial papers was the result. The Archbishop

contended that the Romans were intruding, while the Romans contended that before Constantinople this territory had belonged to Roman dominion. Many controversialists engaged,* so that Bulgaria became as much a topic of political interest in the ninth century as it has been in the nineteenth. All without any effort on the part of the Bulgarians, who seem to have been "surprised at the excitement they caused." In the end, however, the Roman prelates and priests were dismissed.† They seem to have failed here as elsewhere

* On the Greek side Photius, Archbishop of Constantinople; on the Roman side Hincmar of Rheims, Odo of Beauvais, Æneas of Paris, Ratamus of Corbey.

† Paul, Bishop of Populonia; Formosus, Bishop of Portus.

to identify themselves with the people, and the Bulgarians decided in favor of the East. Partly because the people found that political dominion was after all less in the mind of the East than the West.

**Moravia
and Bo-
hemia**

About this time another portion of the Slavic race inhabiting Moravia and Bohemia came to the knowledge of Christ. All through the early part of the century attempts at conversion had been made from the German side by Charlemagne and the Bishops of Salsburg and Passau, districts themselves but newly converted. But these were only successful in making the king, Rostislar, seek a Greek alliance to shake off the hated Western supremacy. The ambassador seeking the alliance was so much impressed by Christianity at Constantinople (again the city's influence is noted), that on his return the queen being already an earnest Christian (note again woman's part in missionary work!) the king's attention was called to this form of the faith, and the Greek emperor was asked to send Cyril and Methodius to instruct the people in their own language. Having

**The
Chazars**

finished their work in Bulgaria these untiring Apostles had meanwhile gone to the Chazars, who eighteen years before the Moravians had sent to Constantinople in the same way for teachers. They were not the first missionaries, for the cause of the Chazars sending in the first place was the perplexity caused in the minds of their people by the di-

vergence in teaching of Jewish, Mohammedan and Christian missionaries! Among them Cyril and Methodius had had much success. They were now called to this new field, where they first of all invented the Slavonic alphabet and translated the Bible and liturgy into Slav.

Then their troubles began. The German missionaries saw their power slipping away from them as soon as the converts were able to use the Bible for themselves, and a struggle at once ensued for its suppression. The result was a contention which was practically political. The Germans counted as heretics all who used the Slavonic liturgy and Bible. The Pope was appealed to and the old date of the superscription on the Cross referred to "written in Greek and Hebrew and Latin." The Pope was on the other hand reminded of the other text, "Praise the Lord all ye nations," and permission to use the Slav alphabet was given. As long as Cyril and after him Methodius lived the Slavonic books were respected, but after their death the German priests rose in a body and the Slavonic alphabet was pronounced the work of the devil, and the Slavonic priests obliged to flee to Bulgaria. In Bulgaria the struggle had been more or less of an intellectual one. The political German element was not so strong and the Slav in the end was triumphant. In Moravia and Bohemia, on the contrary,

**Triumph of
Christian-
ity in Bul-
garia of
Rome in
Bohemia**

the battle was to the death. The question of the languages was vital and the politics of the time ran high. It was more than a religious struggle, it was a racial one. The pope's sanction was withdrawn and a bitter persecution set in, together with a determined forcing of German arms to unite the country with the

German Empire. Servia in the meantime **Servia** was also converted and became a haven of refuge for the Slavonic clergy. The struggle waged with alternating success on each side, but finally Moravia and Bohemia were made German, while Servia was left with Bulgaria to Constantinople. The struggle, however, was not dead but sleeping, and from time to time since then the mighty Slavonic giant has turned and his groans have rent the heart of its people. Huss was the voice of one of these groanings, and the end is not yet, for still in Bohemia and in Austria this contention wrangles and it is the twentieth century that must see the end of what was begun in the tenth.

**Famous
mission-
aries**

Before closing this sketch we must hear for a moment the names of the royal saints of the period. Saints not always with stainless lives, but saints of earnest hearts, who in the times of twilight were reaching after and hastening to the dawn. Stumbling often and falling, but with faces to the eastward and the brightening signs of the coming day of Christ.

There is Piligrino, Bishop of Passau, sent by the Pope

to convert the Huns, who overran Bohemia, and became Bishop of Lorch. And Waih, the son of Geisa, their king, baptized Stephen, who set his face as a flint towards the conversion and education of his people. There too is Adelbert of Prague and his clergy working faithfully and well in the establishment of the faith. The Germans were not utterly bad and a vast amount of good is left as their memorial in those early days.

There was a curious remnant of Celtdom left in Bohemia, whose very word recalls the Boë **Bohemia** Celts of Cæsar's time, and among them we find a lingering of Celtic racial characteristic. This permanence of racial type has been before noted, and is most interesting.

Here we find the converted king Borziwoi and his saintly wife Ludmilla. There their son Ratislav and his son the martyr prince Wenceslav, patron saint of Bohemia. Wenceslav's death is a wonderful picture of peace in those revengeful times. His brother, Boleslav, was a bitter pagan and attacked him one day by stealth to kill him. Wenceslav wrested the weapon from his brother, simply saying, "God forgive thee, brother." The retainers of Boleslav coming in that instant supposing Wenceslav to be attacking their master slew him as he stood there with the words and smile of peace upon his lips. But the absence of revenge and gentleness of Wenceslav remained in Boleslav's heart, and he devoted one of

Its patron saint

his infant boys to the monastic life in its memory. Afterwards this boy became King Boleslav II., called the Pius. An earnest Christian he undid most of the evil wrought by Boleslav I., and his heathen brother Dragomira.

We read too of Deitmar, a Saxon missionary, made Bishop of Prague and Woytrich, his successor, a Bohemian nobleman by birth, who gave up his position in the world for the one of "servant of the Church."

CHAPTER V.

Part II

There are other kingdoms, however, to which we must turn to complete the picture of the conversion of the great nations of to-day. Poland and Pomerania, Wends and Liefland, Russia, Prussia and Lithuania, and lastly Lapland.

Poland First Poland. The daughter of Boleslav I., the Cruel, whom we have seen fighting his brother Wenceslav, was a Christian. Her name was Dambrowka. She married as his first wife (he had four!) Mieceslav I., King of Poland. He was one of the advanced men of his country, and in those days this meant a Germanizer. He seems with it all to have been a sort of tyrant, for the story goes that one of his laws prescribing lenten fasts had added to it the penalty of losing all the teeth by whomever the law was broken! Dambrowka proved to have great influence. Cyril, Methodius and their Slavic work also influenced the establishment of the faith in Poland, but it was a slight and almost intangible effect, so that Eastern Christianity being absent as an opposer to Western aggressions in language and

politics, its place as national defense was taken by heathenism. Both here, and in Pomerania, which had been conquered by the Poles, the foreigner and baptism were synonymous. But in the midst of all these horrors of political Christianity, comes a picture sweet, winning and gentle, to soothe the heart of the student. It is the picture of Otto of Bamberg.

**Otto of
Bamberg**

The way for his coming was prepared by an unusual event for those days. The only Spanish missionary which we encounter in all this long list of missionaries to the nations of to-day was one Bernard, a monk who felt called to preach to the "savages" of Pomerania. Like savages his habit of poverty and mien of humility only impressed them as belonging to a low person, and they so harassed him that from Juliu he was obliged to fly for his life to Bamberg. There he encountered Otto, the Bishop, and after much urging Otto consented to try his powers. He set out early in April, 1124, and for four years laboured incessantly among

**The S.
Patrick of
Pomerania** the Pomeranians. He went in great style as the ambassador of a Great King. He bore presents for the chiefs of the country, and was surrounded by an army of soldiers and a large number of priests. His coming was impressive. He used no force but the moral effect of his ability to do so was great. At eleven stations he planted strong Church centers, one of these being the very Juliu which

had refused the Spanish Bernard. He was very brave without apparently the knowledge of fear, and when the fierce howling people would surround him threatening his life, he simply looked at them a moment and then quietly proceeded to do whatever he had intended, destroy an idol, enter a temple, or preach to the people. His is one of those instances of a marvelous personality. Eloquent and with a pleasing voice and charming manners, he won all hearts. The only place unreached by him was the Island of Rügen, where heathenism reigned triumphant. Pynitz, Cammin, Julin, Stettin, Clothowe, Colberg, Belgrade, Demmin, Usedom, Wolgast, and Gütskow were the eleven stations of this wonderful man. At the end of four years his work was practically ended and the following year he died. It would be interesting to trace his footsteps in a modern missionary pilgrimage, for he is to the Pomeranians what S. Patrick was to the Irish. His custom often was to send two of his priests before him to preach and prepare for his arrival at whatever place he himself would come. At other times he would arrive first in person with all his retinue and attendant pomp, and preach first himself to the curious crowd who listened to him. One incident is most interesting.

On one occasion after baptizing two youths and while instructing them in their white catechumen garments, their mother passed by and saw them. She fell on her knees and thanked

God that she had lived to see that day! Long, long years in secret had she hidden the fact that she was a Christian! So mysteriously does the seed of the Church float on the breeze of circumstance into some far off corner of a people's heart and wait there patient till the waters of baptism sprinkle it into life and visibility! One other thing in connection with these missionary labours of Otto should be noted. The releasing of Christian captives and the forgiving of pecuniary debts often of great value seems to have been made by him a test of Christian conversion. The privilege of treatment due from one Christian to another, beyond that shown a heathen, with Otto as with S. Paul was inculcated on his fierce Slavonic followers, while the forgiving of debts in that age of cruel exactation fitly inaugurated the new reign of peace.

Russia

We now come to the conversion of Russia. In taking up its story and plunging into the mazes of unusual and to us uncouth nomenclature, one is confronted in the midst of the puzzle by the voice of one of their historians declaring that the truth of the early narrative is proven, for it would have been *impossible to forge the names!* We sink back relieved and comforted.

**History of
Russian
Slavs**

In view of the recent importance added to Russia in her successes in China, it will perhaps add to the interest of these pages to

Periods of sketch the opening history of what has become so great a nation. The Slav race seems at the outset to have been a people of many different tribal affiliations. They realized their lack of "talent for affairs," and invited a Scandinavian viking, one Rurik by name, to be their ruler. This was in 862. Rurik established his throne at Kief and for the next two hundred years Russian history is the story of the fortunes of his various descendants. From 1054 to 1238 Russia was divided into six appanages or separate governments, each, however, under a descendant of the great Rurik. From 1462 comes the period of Mongol invasions. After which to 1632 and the accession of the House of Roumanoff, may be called the period of the amalgamation of the Russian Empire. The whole history of Russia is remarkable for four great facts, marking strong national characteristics.

Great characteristics of national choice First the unusual spectacle of a race recognizing their need of a leader and giving an invitation to come and rule them to a strange family; letting him bring on a sort of queen bee principle all his relatives to make a royal caste as it were for their tribes.

National plans of development The second fact of interest is the early and consistently adhered to plan for national development. So early as 865 we are told that Rurik conceived the ambition of acquiring

Constantinople. Since then Russian policy has without wavering had that definite goal in view. So much so that the late words of the present Emperor, when opening the harbour of Ta-lien-wan in China to all nations, "In pursuance of the historic plan," have a sound of peculiar signification. Faithful and unwavering adherence to one great national ambition for over one thousand years! It is a wonderful and unique occurrence.

Struggle with three hostile peoples Third there is the story of the long and hard struggle the Slav has had with his three great foes—Finns, Letto-Lithuanians and Turks.

The first two have been pretty well conquered. The third is still for a future struggle. This gradual growth of the Slav over his neighbours, the hardiness of character it has cultivated is chequered by the effect on the Russian of the races with whom he has struggled. The original customs of the Russian starting with an almost Patriarchal simplicity and equality of manners, have grown through contact with other nations into the autocratic despotism it is now, the most absolute of all monarchies.

National adoption of Christianity This characteristic of impressionableness brings us to the fourth point of interest, namely their manner of conversion to Christianity. In the latter part of the ninth century their Queen Olga, regent during her son's minority, went to Constantinople and there became a most

devoted Christian. There are legends connecting Russia with Christianity before this, but they are legends only, in all probability. The one story is of S. Andrew's preaching at Kief. Another is that of a saint who, being cast into the Tiber to drown, floated into the Mediterranean from there through seas and rivers till he came to Novgorod! The third legend is that of the conversion of those Russians who came first to besiege Constantinople. Whatever truth there may be in these legends (there are no uncouth names to mark their authenticity), no permanent success resulted from any of them. Queen Olga's efforts also fail, and it remains for her grandson, Vladimir,

Queen Olga to be the means of bringing his people to Christ.

Vladimir Vladimir's story is most striking. Early coming to the throne of his fathers, he quickly plunged into all sorts of crime and excess. Nothing is too horrible to conjure up as a picture of his life. Constant intercourse with other lands, however, brought back tidings of Christianity, and more and more his heart was turned to seek it. Finally he made an investigation of the respective merits of the many foreign faiths and philosophies. Judaism he rejected because of the destruction of their national life and independence. Mohammedanism did not please him because it would permit him to drink no wine, Christianity alone attracted him, but he was here

again distracted to decide between the West and the East. On consulting with his people it was decided to send an embassy to Rome and to Constantinople to witness in its own country the result of each form of faith. When the messengers returned those who came from Rome were not pleased. The dirt and untidiness of the services and churches did not impress the men favourably. Those who came from Constantinople, on the other hand, were overcome with wonder and admiration. They had witnessed in the great church of Sancta Sophia one of the most solemn and impressive ceremonies of the Greek church. The white robed choir had seemed to them like a vision of angels, and the music of the chants which rose and lost itself in the height of the great dome had seemed to them nothing less than the music of Heaven. The people with one voice voted for the Eastern form of Christianity. But Vladimir preferred to conquer his faith. He undertook a war with the Eastern Emperor. The hand of the Emperor's sister, Anna, being asked as return for his conversion and termination of the war. Many stories,

Marriage
with Anna
of Constan-
tinople

probably myths, surround this marriage. The most beautiful is that when the city of Chernzon was on the eve of surrendering to this horrible Northern savage, the Princess Anna offered to go as price of peace to a wedding she had hitherto resisted.

This was accepted and she entered the heathen camp.

Vladimir was suffering from a terrible affliction of his eyes which quite blinded him. The gentle touch of the princess's fingers and her earnest prayers cured the tortured king, and in heartfelt gratitude he was baptized. Whether we take this as true or not, one fact is sure, that after his marriage and conversion Vladimir

Vladimir's change of character by conversion was a changed man. The terror of his people, he became their patron saint. Cruel and sensual he became gentle and most strict in

all his conduct. The vision of Vladimir before and after conversion is the vision of two quite different people. The only relic of his fierceness is the relentless manner with which he pursued the former idols of the people. Perun, their favourite idol, was overthrown by Vladimir himself and thrown into the river. The people were baptized in great companies and the conversion of the Russian Slavs practically accomplished.

Entrance of Russia into life of to-day The tenacity of purpose and patience of perseverance in the Russian character is exemplified in their position to-day in China. Nine-

teen hundred will see the Russians adopting the calendar of the rest of the world, which has never been officially done before. Two dates for every event have always hitherto been necessary to the student of Russian history—the Russian date and seventeen days later the general date. This is about to change. That is not all, the twentieth century sees Russia after long

training taking her place in the commercial and so in the national history of her day. May her story be a brave and good one, commensurate to her place in the past. The faith and honour of the Russian peasant transported into the business world is much needed and has much to do.

German-
izing mis-
sions

These are the stories of the more or less independent Slavic nations. There are four which never fully recovered their freedom after the extension of the Teutonic kingdom to the east and north, namely the Wends and Lithuanians, Prussians and Lieflanders. The tale is again a dark one. This time more so than usual, owing to the low type of clergy introduced by the Germans. Whatever may be the religious faults of these districts to-day, much must be laid to the first impressions implanted by these money loving men. When the Germans extended their empire politically, it seemed a part of their policy to plant bishoprics as well as feudal jurisdictions. In this way the sees of Havelberg, Aldenburg, Brandenburg, Meissen, Cisi, and Merseburg were founded, and the sees "banded together under that of Mardeburg were used as a sort of bulwark power against the great Germanic see of Mayence."* The relationship of Wend to Christianity was so involved with the question of the relationship of Wend to

* See Hardwick. Middle Ages, p. 128 note.

German that the strife was peculiarly hot and bitter. Now it was Christian German, now it was heathen Wend who had the upper hand. And whichever held it persecuted violently the other. The result was that as gradually Christianity asserted its sovereignty over the people, so gradually the Germans displaced the Slavs. The land was Christianized but, only partially so, its early people. Two men, however, live in the annals of its history as faithful missionaries, Vicelin and Dietmar. They laboured in truth for Christ, not for themselves, as so many of the other priests had done, and they won souls. Their fields were the districts about Bremen and New Munster.* Among the martyrs, too, is a goodly number. Indeed, the Cross penetrated all these

places at the point of the sword. Difficulty

Missionary military orders after difficulty came upon them, and finally

the Order of the Sword, later merged with

the Order of Teutonic Knights, began an authorized military conversion.† It was really a conquest by Germany in the name of the Cross. A story is told of some of the converts (?) who plunged into the river Dwina to wash out their hated baptism, and let it be floated back to Germany!

Not all the discouragements in China to-day can be

* Early Bishoprics, Harelburg, Aldenburg, Brandenburg, Meissen, Cisi, Merseburg, all under the Bishop of Mardeburg.

† Compare in present day history the political aspect of the protection of German missionaries in Kiai Chua, China.

more severe than those the pioneers of Christendom endured in Germanic Slavdom. Indeed, the Slav dies out as the Cross advances, and in Prussia to-day it is the German, not the Slav, who lives there. Indeed it is strange to think of it as not at all times a German land.

Lapland

There now remains but to speak of the conversion of Lapland and these glimpses of pre-Reformation conversion are completed. The original heathenism of Lapland is that of the rest of Slavdom, except that they had a peculiar reverence for mountain tops as places for worship.

Lapland witches Witchcraft among them was a regular profession, and their success in this direction was such that Lapland witches were sent for by all the surrounding country. Even English works mention them, and in Russia they were very popular. Even after their conversion witchcraft was still practised, additional circles for Christ, the Virgin and God the Holy Ghost being added.

Missions among them were first undertaken in the fourteenth century, writes Dr. Maclear, but two hundred years was required to effect their conversion. This event then carries us across the bridge of our book from one volume to the other.

Cause of conversion The cause of sending missionaries among them seems to have been the treaty between Norway and Russia in 1326 partitioning Lapland, to use modern phraseology, into Rus-

sian and Norwegian spheres of influence. These spheres have been practically annexations, except that besides Norway and Russia, Sweden has also profited by the dividing up of the country. The Greek Church holds Russian Lapland, while the Swedish Church is all powerful in the other portions. S. Tryphon seems to have been the most active missionary from the Russian side, while for both sets of natives the missionaries must receive the credit of inventing the alphabet and giving the people a literature as well as a Bible. The inhabitants are mostly nomadic in character. Their occupation largely characterized tribal divisions as the "fishing Laps," and the "hunting Laps," etc. Fishing was more highly esteemed, if accounts are correct, "there being so many fasts in the Greek Church when only fish may be eaten!" It is most touching to note that about Christmas time these wandering people flock to camp about the places where there are churches. They are gentle and not much given to great crimes. The most frequently occurring of "bad cases" being the killing of otter, moose and reindeer.

**Retrospect
and effect
of Reform-
ation on
Missions**

As we look back over the different periods of missionary history, we see how far men have differed, at least in the West, from Apostolic days, when the planting of the church could be made a matter of political ambition, as it has distinctly been in the story of the conversion of the Slav. So far as the West is concerned, with the exception of

Bishop Otto, every conversion from Bohemia to Lapland has been the story of national selfishness and covetousness. We cannot help but feel that the Reformation was needed not only for the preacher of the word, but for the sower of the seed. Not only for the Christian scholar, but for the heathen. It is thus from the missionary standpoint that we turn now to add our welcome to its coming. Separating as it did church and state, it opened the way once more for free and untrammeled intercourse between men and their Saviour in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

The planting of the next period presents a different aspect, and to us perhaps is of even keener interest, comprising as it does the story of our own days and duties.

Let us lift up our eyes to the field white already to harvest.

ANALYSIS of Slavic Missions.

NATION	DATE	CAUSE OF CONVERSION	PRESENT STATUS
Chazars.....	840	Cyril and Methodius.....	Greek Church
Moravia.....	843	Christian Queen.....	Roman Communion
Bohemia.....	844	Cyril and Methodius.....	Roman Communion
	1080	Prince Wenceslaus.....	
		Greco-Roman conflict	
		Dietmar, a Saxon	
		Adelbert of Marde- } at Prague..	
Bulgaria.....	850	burg, King's sister captive in Constanti- nople	
		Cyril and Methodius	Greek Church
		Christian residents of Armenia	
		Missionaries from Western Pope and Emperor	
Servia.....		Cyril and Methodius	Greek Church
Russia.....	950	Conversion of Olga.....	Greek Church
	987	Embassies to Rome and Constanti- nople	
		Wedding of Vladimir and Anna of Constantinople	
		Slavonic Liturgy and Bible of Cyril and Methodius adopted	
		Cyril and Methodius influence...{	
Wends.....	950	John of Mecklenburg (Irishman) {	Roman Communion, German Protest- ants, Greek Church
	1047	Gottschalk	Roman Church and German Protest- ants
	1125	Pope Vicius	
	1168	Santovit destroyed	
Poland	965	Queen Dambrowka, niece of Wenceslaus, first wife of Mie- ceslav, a Christian	
	1000	Queen Odo, fourth wife of Mie- ceslav, a Christian and a German Hosts of French, Italian and Ger- man priests	
Hungary.....	997	Benedict VII., sends Bishop Pili- grin to Passau	Roman Communion
	1057	King Stephen	
Pomerania..	1121	Bernard of Spain	Roman Church and German Protest- ants
	1139	Otto of Bamberg	
Lieflanders..	1200	Order of the Sword	German Protestants
Prussia.....	1280	Teutonic Knights	German Protestants
Lithuania.....	1386	Hedwige, Queen of Poland, a Christian	German Protestants
Iaps.....	1326	Swedish, Russian and Norwegian Missions, result of political com- pact	Swedish and Greek Church
	1500		



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